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JPRS 84032

3 August 1983

# Near East/South Asia Report

No. 2793

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3 August 1983

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No. 2793

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DOMESTIC, LEBANESE COMMUNIST GROUPS ISSUE JOINT STATEMENT

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 55, Jun 83 p 7

[Article: Joint Communique by the Egyptian Communist Party and the Communist Action Organization in Lebanon; Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic; monthly organ of the Egyptian Communist Party]

[Text] Two delegations, one from the Egyptian Communist Party and one from the Communist Action Organization in Lebanon, met, and, in the course of the meeting, reviewed the basic developments the Arab area is going through, especially following the signing of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement under American tutelage. In addition, there was a review by the two parties of the tasks that lie on the shoulders of the Arab liberation movement to cope with the serious conditions that have arisen from the schemes of hegemony of American imperialism.

The two parties paused to consider the serious implications of the agreement signed by the Lebanese regime and the Zionist enemy, and the conclusions resulting from that. They expressed their joint rejection and condemnation of this agreement. They recorded a fact that it is causing Lebanon to fall into the Israeli grip and that it is wresting it away from the Arab world, so that it is thereby not just directly at variance with the national sovereignty and independence of Lebanon -- it is striking out at the bases on which the unity of Lebanon as an entity must be founded, as well as prompting a deepening of the internal disruption in Lebanon, with all the dangers of renewed civil strife that that entails, and encouraging the fascist factional class orientation against democracy in the regime.

We publish herewith some paragraphs of the statement:

The two parties observed that the abovementioned agreement is totally in contradiction with the resolutions of the Security Council, especially Resolutions 508 and 509, which call for the unconditional withdrawal of the forces of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon.

In the same context, the two parties consider that their position in rejection of the agreement is an extension of their joint rejection of the Camp David platform, which is invading the Lebanese stage today and turning that into its second stage, following Egypt.

The two parties warn that the recent Lebanese-Israeli agreement is turning Lebanon into a base of American-Israeli aggression against the whole Arab nation

and implanting a reconciliation with Israel, which will not hesitate to turn it into a country subordinate to Israel, after the latter's efforts to reorganize it in accordance with its own will are fulfilled and the way is paved for the third stage, in Jordan, and the insinuation of the comprehensive American solution. Therefore, they call on all Arab nationalist forces to condemn the recent agreement so that the Arab situation will not be isolated, in stages, so that the grave dimensions the Arab area is going through may be confronted, and so that the national struggle in Lebanon, which is heroically resisting all these consequences may be truly supported.

Proceeding from this premise, the two parties condemn reactionary silence and reactionary boldness in expressing alignment with the grave scheme that is underway, especially the camp of the blatant proponents of Camp David. The two parties also take note of the start of the evasion on the part of some Arab countries of their commitments, under the pressure of Arab reaction, and they call on all countries and national forces to put into concrete form clear stands which will help organize an Arab polarization against the hostile schemes.

However, the Egyptian Communist Party and the Communist Action Organization in Lebanon do not miss the occasion to stress their firm faith that the phase which the Arab liberation movement is going through demands in the first place that the Arab revolutionary forces bear the burdens of their role and responsibility toward their renewed forward surge and the radicalization of their tasks. That is a matter that of necessity requires the attainment of a quantum leap in the area of action of the Arab revolutionary forces and the radicalization of their relations with the Arab masses. It is a leap which is dictated by the fact that these revolutionary forces today constitute the conscience of the masses and the object of their hopes for a new resurgence in the Arab nation. From this point of departure, the Egyptian Communist Party and the Communist Action Organization in Lebanon have renewed their faith in the option of the unity of Arab revolutionary forces and their common conviction of the need to work to provide a suitable climate for a responsible, comradely democratic dialogue between the two wings of the Arab revolutionary movement, the Communist and workers' parties and all organizations which embrace Marxist Leninism, and radical organizations. They support a meeting of these forces to evaluate the conclusions from the previous phase and prepare for a confrontation with possible developments in the current and future phase, through the formulation of a joint program and the attainment of unity of Arab revolutionary action.

The two parties consider that the continued splendid Lebanese national perseverance and the new upsurge of Egyptian national action will constitute two important elements in the upsurge of the whole Arab situation, and they call for a common struggle with the Palestine Liberation Organization and Syria and reliance on the friendly, honest, decisive Soviet position.

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CSO: 4504/424

GOVERNMENT TO INCREASE, EXPEDITE AID TO SMALL FARMERS

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 9-15 Jun 83 pp 10-11

[Article by B. Fayçal: "The New Thrust"]

[Text] Aid to private-sector agriculture, of which there was relatively little prior to 1979, will get a new lease on life now that the Central Committee has passed new resolutions concerning agriculture.

"The state has always helped the small farmer, but its efforts have invariably been strangled by the bureaucracy." Mr B. Mahiedin, known in his Tlemcen hometown of Sidi Abdelli for his blunt forthrightness, is unequivocal on that score. Other small farmers in the Algerian hinterland confirmed his judgment. An ardent nationalist since the very beginning, "Uncle" Mahiedin gets furious when he talks about "piston," (favoritism) and about the devious administrative practices of some of the local politicians:

"Fortunately," he says, "now at last our new mayor is gradually giving us a little hope."

For 2 solid hours, he gets carried away by the colorful history of the Algerian nationalists' struggle against colonialism. He tells us about the North African Star, about the birth of the nationalist movement, about the strikes and the worldwide depression that began in 1929 and its impact on Algeria, where "in those days we traded our wheat for coffee and sugar. He recounts chapter and verse of the years he spent among the Ulemas, then with the Algerian People's Party (PPA), the Democratic Freedoms Movement (MTLD), and then with UDMA -- which did not have the same goals and the same membership as in the cities -- just to make one last try at the non-violent way; finally, he wound up in "Jabha," fighting for land and independence. The Algerian peasant farmer has done a lot of things in his time besides farming. We have a tendency, all too often, to forget this elementary fact in the cities, where there are those who have no qualms at blaming

the thousand and one frustrations of city life on "those peasants who keep swarming into our cities without any sort of preparation for urban living."

Such loose talk betrays the misled townsman or the malicious one, people who either haven't the vaguest notion of the rural world or who have only dim memories of it -- which they would just as soon keep to themselves. It is stereotyping that serves a number of dubious purposes, and which does not solve the problems underlying the peasants' flight to city jobs in industry, but which does distort the intelligence of rural society, which is now so clouded with myth and misconception that it has dropped into oblivion. Love for the land is so strong among these fellahs that the visitor carries some of it back with him when he returns to his steel and concrete environment.

"We must not," wrote Mr Lacheraf, "allow ourselves to count on the virtues of the peasant farmer, his stubborn tenacity, his endurance, for some kind of spontaneous miracle to let him, in this age of technology, of intellectual effort, of radical reversals, of equitable social procedures and organization, transform, all by himself, a complicated lot in which chronic malnutrition, crippling ignorance, and joblessness are the major ills, while he is constantly and simultaneously betrayed by the land and by his fellow-man." Once we grasp that, aid from the state becomes a vital necessity.

Aid to private-sector agriculture, which was relatively meager prior to 1979, will get a major boost now that the Central Committee has adopted some resolutions concerning agriculture. From now on, the private sector will be entitled, on an equal basis with the socialist and agrarian revolution sectors, to assistance to buy "all production factors it needs." Procedures for getting short-, medium-, and long-term loans have been simplified to the maximum possible. All the farmer-owner need do is to show up at a lending institution set up for the purpose, at the People's Communal Assembly (APC), at a branch of the Agriculture and Development Bank (BADR), or at the Communal Multi-Service Agriculture Cooperative (CAPCS), bringing with him a form showing where his farm is and what he grows, which he can pick up at any CAPCS branch or local daïras agricultural office.

Scrutiny of applications and decisions to grant or withhold loans are the prerogatives of the Daïra Commission, made up of the head of the Daïra (the chairman), the Daïra farm delegate (rapporteur), the UNPA coordinator, and the representative from the National Farm Equipment Office (ONAMA). At the local level, a representative of the BADR is on hand for consultation. Some of the top people in the BADR seem to resent their secondary role in the daïra commission, the more bitterly because, one of them told us at Tiaret, "We're the ones the government ask for the books, but the loans granted by the commission itself are never made."

According to ministry circular # 482 SM, dated 21 March 1982, consideration of loan applications "shall be conducted on the basis of classification criteria, which bear essentially on: the acreage farmed by the applicant(s) and the ventures undertaken, [as well as] the annual rate of utilization entailed." The generally accepted rate of utilization for granting use of tractor-drawn machinery is 450 hours per year, a standard which, unfortunately, is most frequently met by farmers working more than 20 hectares. This restriction, which is in line with a determination to make profitable use of every piece of machinery in view of efficient performance and a reasonable amortization rate, inevitably poses problems for the vast majority of farmer-owners whose holdings seldom exceed 3 hectares.

Along with simplified procedures for buying farm equipment goes indirect aid from the state in the form of price supports for such equipment and for chemical products whose retail prices have been frozen since 1974 (decree N° 74-87, dated 24 April). This means that a 45-horsepower tired tractor which costs the state 45,000 DA to import is sold to the farmer for 18,248 DA; a 65-HP tractor goes for 27,936 DA, although it costs the state around 90,000 DA; a harvester-thresher combine goes for 60,446 DA, although the pricetag for importing it is 120,000 DA... Farmer-owners can buy this equipment either with temporary loans or cash. Direct sales to the private sector, according to figures released by the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform (MARA) are catching up with short-term loan purchases (CT). This development is even more marked in tractor sales: 1980 loans covered 1,500 tractors, while cash sales accounted for 1,690. In 1981, CTs dropped to 1,430 tractors, while 3,431 were paid for in cash; in 1982, CT sales plummeted to 349 tractors, while 5,000 farmers paid cash for theirs! If the increase in cash-on-the-barrelhead sales is an indication of a matching increase in the purchasing power of one category of farmer-owners, the downward drift in short-term loans might, on the contrary, be a sign of financial difficulties, or of misleading information, or even of technical exclusion, for reasons connected with the profitability of such equipment to another category of independent farmers, often those with very small farms.

We asked a MARA official about this, and he explained: "The amount of land worked by the farmer must be large enough to justify his request for one, so that it won't be used for non-agricultural purposes." Out in the country, though, this altogether fair regulation is not properly implemented, and nobody knows why. As a matter of fact, we counted more tractors on the roads, carrying sand and gravel to Kabylie and Blida, for instance, or in the downtown areas like M'sila, than we did in the fields. Here is a sampling of the explanations for these anomalies we got from the small farmers: "They give tractors to people whose intention is not to work farms with them" (Tizi-Ouzou); "They give tractors



to dealers, who rent them to us for 60 DA per hour" (two small farmers from M'Sila); "They sell them to people with connections, because otherwise why would we find these tractors that the state has paid so much for, on sale in the black market for 200,000 DA apiece?" Truth? Or exaggeration?

Notwithstanding, in other regions we toured, the distribution of farm machinery seems to be working fairly, on the whole.

It all depends on the honesty and integrity of the men in charge of implementing directives and decisions made by the political leadership.

The state's intervention in the area of small hydroelectric power plants, however, is truly remarkable. The thousands of banks of motor pumps made available to farmers are evidence of the state's determination to expand the acreage now under irrigation, and, consequently, production of fresh vegetables. Out in the country, though, the distribution of this equipment flows through choked channels. This state of affairs was described to us by a Kabylie peasant in very simple terms: "They sold us irrigation pumps, but no irrigation pipes, so we had to go out and buy the pipes on the black market for 300 dinar per 6 meters, even though the ONAMA price is 160 DA for 6.8 meters. First question: Who sold them to the speculators?" And what makes this particular farmer madder than anything else is the waste of time it involves, and in farming, time is money, because there is no way you can make up for days lost.

The secretary-general of the Tizi-Ouzou UW-UNPA (National Union of Algerian Peasants) reminded us of the peasant mentality: "They don't like making the rounds from one office to another. They want people to be frank with them, to tell them whether what they want is available or not, because if their seed isn't in the ground on time, they're in deep trouble."

Mr M. Ali, who owns 12 hectares, told us that after countless trips to one office after another, he was given an appointment for a Saturday, when he would be given his quota of irrigation pipe. On the day of his appointment he was informed that there was nobody on hand to load the pipe, and that he would have to come back in the afternoon. "So I decided to stay there so as not to waste money on still another trip, and never mind the wasted time, so long as I could get the pipe. Then, that afternoon, another ONAMA staff member told me that there was no pipe available, and still another one demanded that I show him the papers for my bank loan, when I wanted to pay cash! You hear what I'm saying? One tells me there's nobody to load the pipe: a second one tells me there is no pipe in stock: and the third one tells me that I have to show him the papers on the bank loan! That's really kids' games! Why not tell us at the start that they haven't got anything? I am well aware that it is hard for the country to satisfy everybody's demands: that's why I get furious at what I see as irresponsibility!"

Then there was the other small farmer from Oued El Kheira douar, who works three hectares and has 14 children, to whom ONAMA at Mostaganem refused to sell a 14-HP pump, and forced him to buy a 24-HP model. "The 24-HP," he says "is too big for a little patch of land like mine. I had to go to the black market to buy a 14 HP and I had to pay 2 million centimes for it, even though the official price is 7,000 DA." And yet, the state has put a lot of small water-power generating equipment on the market, so who is blocking these efforts to help the hard-working farmer?

A few kilometers away from there, at Belarba douar, a peasant farmer shows us his expense sheet, with the figures to back it up. Seed potatoes cost him 250 DA per quintal (CAPCS price), and 300 DA on the black market. A seasonal hired hand is paid 50 DA per day; "33" fertilizer costs 25 DA per kilo, even though its official list price is 40 DA per quintal. "But I don't know anybody at CAPCS." Twelve-eighteen fertilizer costs 100 dinar per quintal on the black market... "If I hire seven hands and I need 20 quintals of fertilizer per hectare, you figure out the costs."

A lot further on, at M'sila, we met two farmers, sickles in hand, cutting weeds in their fields. They showed us more accounts. "The people who own tractors bring us water at 100 dinar per tank. We rent a tractor from dealers (CAPCS does not have sufficient funds) for 60 dinar per hour, and we pay a guy 400 DA to plant. Renting a binder costs 3 dinar per sheaf, and so on and so on. I think I'm going to wind up in a factory, and yet our soil is very rich, if only we had the wherewithal to work it."

The striking thing about this particular case is that the Ksob dam is only 6 kilometers away from the field we were standing in! And we were astounded to see irrigation ditches running over kilometers from the dam -- all of them bone-dry! Why? simply because there are several breaks in the "saguiets." All it would take would be one or two cranes to repair them." Apparently it never occurred to anybody to patch them up. Things like this lend poignancy to what one old farmer said to us: "They keep telling us that our region is perfect for farming and pastureland, and only 5 kilometers from a dam, and we keep telling them: fix up the canals, give us some equipment, and we'll turn it into a garden in less than 5 years."

Mr Khelil, a farmer like his father before him, has a little bit more money than a lot of other peasants, but he voices the same complaints: not enough equipment, delays in delivery of seed and fertilizers, bureaucratic red tape... He takes his oath that "It isn't the central government that's giving the farmers the runaround, it's those lazy louts in the local offices. All those forms they make us fill out have to cost the government more than it would just to give us the equipment we need."

There is another kind of farmer-owner, though. In Tiaret commune, a UNPA official told us, "One farmer owns 26 hectares and close to 100 cows, and he also runs a butcher-shop. Of course he grows forage crops. In our view, this land is being underused for purely selfish reasons. There's another who owns 16 hectares. He plants 5 hectares to hard wheat, and grows forage crops on the rest. He sells it for 50 dinar per bale, though the government sells it for 55 DA per quintal (five bales). After you've seen stuff like this, people try to tell you that the private sector is more efficient than the public!" In Blida, some of the officials have come to the same conclusion: "Since the new regulations on marketing fruits and vegetables went into effect, a lot of independent farmers who had stopped working their land have gone back to farming. That's a very good thing, but we have observed, over time, that it was done mainly for speculative purposes, and the steadily rising prices for produce are the flagrant evidence."

We were given a friendly welcome to the Medjana commune (Bordj Bou Arréridj) by the FLN Kasma coordinator, who is also a deputy to the APN. He spoke compassionately about these small peasant farmers who cannot take full advantage of government aid because some of the regulations, for reasons connected with maximum efficiency of equipment, tend to favor owners of more than 40 hectares of land.

"To get access to equipment, especially tractors, the little farmers could form cooperatives, but they can't do it because their little patches of land are too far from each other. Unquestionably, there should be some changes in the regulations to make them more responsive to the needs of the mass of peasants." After telling us that, since the freeze on jobs in industry in the region, young people are more and more turning to farming, which promises them a better living nowadays, he concludes that "the problems besetting the agricultural revolution, which, for that matter affects only an infinitesimal part of our farmland, are a matter of improved income, not a structural problem."

That opinion is shared by a good many peasants on the subject of enriching the rural environment so as to stabilize its population. Electrification, building roads and schools are, in their view, one way to stem the rural exodus.

The state also helps small farmers with loans. Short-term loans meet the needs of the small farmer during the growing year (6 to 12 months). Ranking officials at the national level recognize the fact that the small farmer as a rule is reliable in meeting his obligation to the bank. Mr Kaïdi Kacem, the farm officer at the Tiaret BADR, confirms the solvency of the peasant farmer with

these figures: "For the 1981-82 farm year, the loan repayment rate was 86.5 percent. That is a very good return for the bank." Loan procedures have been simplified to the maximum; the peasant has only to walk into a lending institution, the CAPCS or the APC. Even so, the fact remains that the funds allocated annually are deemed insufficient.

Procedures have also been simplified for medium- and short-term loans for equipment purchases (tractors, harvesters, planting groves, cattle-raising, farm buildings...). There are ceilings, however, which vary according to the type of loan involved. The ceiling constraint, now fixed at a maximum of 5 million centimes, needs revising. According to MARA, "the ceiling [on credit] for poultry raising has already been raised, and we are going to do the same for contour plowing. We are already working on similar easing of other kinds of loans."

When it comes to poultry raising, the government has set itself a target: self-sufficiency and a total halt to poultry imports between now and 1985; private-sector participation in achieving this goal is something the government devoutly wishes. Providing batteries of laying hens to peasants wishing to engage in this venture has accordingly been arranged, complete with provision for loans of 100 percent of initial cost. The farmers and some local officials find that requiring chicken farmers to come up with 30 percent of the cost of buildings is too steep. For the bank, though, that front-money is a guarantee that the loan will be repaid. A UNPA official had an answer to that: "The loan guarantee is provided, on the one hand, by the farmer's commitment, and, on the other, by registration of the loan with the courts. This means that, if there is a default on the loan, the farmer's land can be seized. And so I think that these are adequate guarantees against risk, and that credit to cover the full cost of buildings ought to be provided as well."

Aside from farmers with land close to the big cities, however, not one peasant farmer raised this issue (of government help to poultry raising development), for one simple reason: none of them were aware of this government decision. It seems to us that an intensive effort to get the word out is vitally necessary.

Still on this topic, we found, in the course of our survey which covered eight wilayas, that the further we got from the major cities, the less likely the small farmer was to have heard about the latest move. Conversely, as even high officials admit, the private sector of agriculture is practically terra incognita in government circles. Nobody knows anything about the small farmer's crop plans, or about his production, they told us at MARA. That means that they know nothing at all about his real needs in the way of equipment, fertilizers, seed, etc., and almost all of these items must be imported. How would you like to plan our aid? "In solving the problem, the government tries to bring its structures closer to the farmers, at the same time as we expand technical aid to the peasant farmers through our agricultural experts."

Government aid to small farmers is substantial. Even so, it is not helping everybody who needs help, for the reasons we have cited, the most important of which would appear to be the information gap and the often excessively cumbersome procedures involved, which can be baffling to small farmers unused to government regulations. Accordingly, in order to make sure that such aid, recommended in resolutions adopted by the FLN Central Committee, is not siphoned off by a small minority, we must, come what may, see to it that the institutions responsible for distributing it and those responsible for monitoring the way it is used come closer to the small peasant farmers. Algeria needs to see all its arable land thriving and producing. This is, of course, an economic imperative, but it is also and above all a political one. We must be able to feed ourselves and, if we are to do so, we must provide decent working conditions and living conditions for the peasant farmer. This is the price we absolutely must pay if we want our cities, so catastrophically over-populated today, to lose their fatal attraction for those who till the nation's fields.

The Central Committee Expressly asks:

- . "That we take another look at independent agriculture and find a way to make it part of the overall national development program.
- . "That we make every effort to protect the small farmers and help them toward prosperity.
- . "That we provide the conditions that will mobilize the small farmers into the development effort.
- . "That we solve the problem of the rural exodus by means of ongoing action aimed at stabilizing the peasants and using the National Development Plan to make the requisite social amenities available to them.
- . "That we expand the peasant's range of expertise and make him an integral part of the skills-upgrading process, and encourage young people to choose farming as a career.
- . "That we protect farmland for peasant cultivation against any and all kinds of wasteful use.
- . "To make sure that privately owned farmlands benefit more fully by government reclamation and development efforts.
- . "To encourage peasants to seize every opportunity to increase their production.

- . "To place restrictions on land sales.

- . "To modify the standards which will be promulgated in the future, under which restrictions will be imposed on land ownership and acquisition. These criteria will be brought into consonance with variances in revenue and living conditions."

(From the proceedings of the Central Committee meeting of December 1981.)

6182

CSO: 4509/276

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ABADLA REVIEWED

Algiers EL DJEICH in French No 240, May 83 pp 16-22

[Article by Ouzani Moubarek, translated from Arabic to French by Meziane Zoheir: "More Effort and Investment for the Abadla Area?"]

[Text] The Abadla area is one of the numerous and important projects under way in our country. However, despite the expenditures and the efforts made, this project has not been fully executed. This leads us to question the interest devoted to this area and to agriculture in the southern part of the country (and the southwestern Sahara in particular), while we note a certain indifference when it comes to the farmland in the north, which is more fertile, since the natural conditions are so much better, manpower more available and farming traditions better rooted.

However, this interest finds justification in a number of factors and certain realities.

To fail to allocate a part of the income derived from the wealth of the Sahara to the development of the south would be to scorn morality. From a strategic point of view, it would be a mistake to continue to rely on this wealth, which after all can be exhausted, for the sole purpose of financing import products, when it would be more efficient to invest the income from energy and mining products locally, in agriculture and industry.

International economic relations, which have in recent times been characterized by the purposeful reduction of prices on raw materials, including oil, tend to confirm the risk and the undesirable aspects of this orientation.

If our awareness of the importance of agriculture has been strengthening for a long time politically, it has not become a conviction enabling each of us as individuals to work for the achievement of that of which we have become aware. Therefore we were content to put forth a minimum of effort and to contemplate the forms of organization and management occasionally, because we were sheltered from need and our stomachs were full, thanks to oil and raw materials.

If the periodical EL DJEICH has opted to publish a report on the Abadla Plain, it is above all to show that the farm experiments tried in this area provide a real index of the prospects for investment in the Sahara. The results of this experiment are in our view a unique criterion and irrefutable proof of the capacity of human beings (peasants, farm experts, managers, directors, as well as all the individuals involved on the national level) to express their faith in the decisions of the Central Committee pertaining to agriculture in general and agriculture in the south (Sahara) in particular.

These decisions, by virtue of which an effort is being made to encourage farm investments in the Sahara, will remain a dead letter if we do not succeed in closing the gap accentuated by the Abadla Plain experiment. It did however yield promising fruit for those who worked with dedication and sincerity. Having said that, it is not our intention to pass a judgment on the need for this or that body to take charge of this experiment. But we would like to note that it does merit being taken over by a body which would be granted all of the prerogatives and investment and exploitation resources necessary. It also merits the application to it of a system of discipline and work methods consistent with the agrarian task and the economic, political and strategic importance of this experiment.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that the conditions of life in the Sahara are difficult. The general feelings of everyone, when contemplating going there to live and work, only confirm this state of affairs. But we must not forget that the success which has crowned the experience of peoples and human communities has been the result in large part of man's struggle against nature and his taking up the challenge posed by harsh circumstances. Then the availability of material resources, the establishment of conditions guaranteeing peace of mind, the seriousness of management and the discipline in labor provide the guarantees of success for such experiments.

The prerequisite for prosperity in the vast areas in the southern part of Algeria is the farm exploitation of this region, to the extent that it is true that life in the shadow of the oil and gas wells and other resources cannot last forever.

In drawing attention to the experiment attempted in the Abadla area, and after having sampled its fruits, our purpose is to whip up awareness and awaken a feeling of jealousy--and we are not speaking solely of those in charge--with regard to the deterioration of the situation prevailing there, which has required so many years of effort as well as no less substantial investments. There are vast virgin expanses there which beg for aid and an experiment (that of the Abadla area) which will enable them to contemplate the farm development of the south with serenity. This is the more important since the food question which is currently arising on a world scale poses a choice of two solutions for every country: self-sufficiency in terms of farm products, thus safeguarding its sovereignty and its independence, or otherwise, facing the horrors of servitude and dependence.

Will our appeal produce positive results? Will what we write in this periodical be reflected one day in a flow of citizens toward the south to work the



land there? Will we see cities develop and prosper in the midst of fields and gardens in the south? Will we see agriculture in the Sahara contribute to the efforts of our country toward self-sufficiency in food, and thereby to our sovereignty and independence?

These are questions which we have already raised and which we ask again of all those who are involved, so that they can respond to them by work and by combatting negligence and indifference.

#### The Plain, Past and Present

Prior to independence, this plain was a complex of scattered settlements in a very harsh natural sector where life, as it is for all the inhabitants of the Sahara and more or less everywhere in the world, was organized on the basis of livestock breeding and some limited crop raising on very small areas.

This life is dictated by the rainfall as well as the water coming from the Gair Wadi, where floods often have a damaging effect on any structures and the fertile land suffers from the effects of erosion. This damage sometimes reaches the city of Adrar, located 500 kilometers from Abadla.

Just after independence was won, it was decided to build a dam at the location of a natural basin 60 kilometers to the north of the city. The purpose was to prevent the effects resulting from the flooding of the Gair Wadi, and to make this water energy a source of agrarian and social prosperity making it possible to ensure stability for the nomads of the region, and to irrigate land in order to satisfy the needs of the region's inhabitants for grains, fruits, vegetables, dairy products, meat and other products.

This idea began to take shape on 15 October 1965, the date construction work was begun on the Djorf Torba Dam, which has a maximal water capacity of 360 million cubic meters. Work was to be finished on 15 February 1969. And so the management operation for the Abadla Plain began the same year the dam was built. In 1975, after long years of serious work, with the investment included within the framework of the agrarian revolution, the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform assumed responsibility for this plain, the development of which was entrusted to an American company, which built a water supply network for irrigation. This same company also built a filtering station to provide a water supply to the inhabitants of the city of Abadla.

The management of this project was then entrusted to the SONARIA, the national water resources company. Shortly afterward, this task was turned back to the young people doing national service, jointly with the national construction office.

This having been done, the expected results began to appear. In fact, the work in the plain saw a remarkable upsurge, both in land development and in farm experiments then being carried out.

Today, the people who lived through that period talk of that time, when serious work and positive results prevailed, with nostalgia. For them, it is almost unthinkable that, with the experience through which it has passed, this plain should appear as it does today!

#### The New Visage of a Once-Arid Region

On 15 March 1976, the young men doing their national service took over the task of completing the Abadla area project. Faithful to their duty, they worked the land with honesty and dedication. The harvests were satisfactory to the point that it raised problems connected with the marketing of the products involved. The inhabitants of Bechar will never forget the beautiful years when the farm products such as milk, vegetables and fruits were available on the market at reasonable prices.

Above all, we should not lose sight of the fact that it was thanks to firm organization and perfect discipline that this work and these efforts succeeded. The Abadla area was divided into five zones with 84 farm cooperatives assigned complementary goals. These included a cattle-raising cooperative, another for livestock feeding, and finally a third for the repair of farm equipment. These cooperatives were spread over an area of 5400 hectares irrigated by water coming from the Djorf Torba Dam. In terms of the human factor in the region, the young men doing their national service were there, as well as the beneficiaries of the cooperatives, whose number increased as farm production did.

This experiment left a profound mark on those who experienced it. The APC [People's Communal Assembly] officials spoke to us of this historic experience which was accompanied by prosperity and economic and social development. In 1966, the number of inhabitants was estimated at 6,000. Today, there are 22,000 persons. This shows the importance of the number of agricultural workers, those employed in services and project execution in this city. The only commune in Abadla currently sponsors five large farm villages with a population of 1,930. One of the villages involved, the Houari Boumediene Project, was built by young men doing their national service. This village is characterized by an original architectural style, has 360 residents and is equipped with all sociocultural facilities.

#### Seven Years of Drought--Myth or reality?

What happened in the region from the end of 1980 to 1982 was to impose a new reality on this experiment, to the point that the work of a number of years, or rather the agrarian experiment in the south more generally, proved in the end to be no more than a house of cards.

#### Why and how did this happen?

In 1979, the project under discussion, which was one of the Algerian goals for the year 2000, had been entrusted to the Rural Development Institute,

after having been taken over by the young men doing their national service. This surprising transfer created a great vacuum in the structure of the area, which was until 1981 managed in irregular fashion. The available manpower could not provide the resources for the exploitation of 5400 hectares. And so all of the gains on this plain, including its prosperity, the labor and the enthusiasm, yielded to stagnation and decadence. Or, to put it another way, Abadla returned to its initial state.

The Djorf Torba Dam is regarded as one of the country's greatest achievements. Its maximal capacity is 360 million cubic meters. It irrigates 16,000 hectares of land. Its reservoirs can provide irrigation for a developed area for a period of 8 consecutive years. But this is only possible if the waters are utilized in a scientific and rational fashion, independent of the new waters which may be added to those already stored. Another secondary dam is situated 50 kilometers away. Its waters come from the main dam for the purpose of irrigating the land on the plain.

The water reserve of the Djorf Torba Dam was satisfactory from 1969 (when it was commissioned) to 1975. After that date, the reserve was to decline noticeably due to the irregularity of the rainfall over the Moroccan Atlas Mountains, where the Gair Wadi has its source. This situation continued until 1979, when the water reserve of the dam dropped from 220 million cubic meters in January to 134 million cubic meters.

However, the flooding of the Gair Wadi in October of that year resulted in an increase of the dam reserve to 440 million cubic meters. Now since it has a maximal capacity of 360 million cubic meters, the dam could not accommodate that volume. For this reason, the central administration of the dam made the decision to discharge water, draining off 270 million cubic meters by way of protection against the possible rainstorms which could cause the flooding of the Gair Wadi and damage the dam. Unfortunately, the expectations of the central management concerning the dam were a far cry from what actually happened. In fact, this dam drainage operation was followed by a period of acute drought in the region, which thus reduced the results of long years of continuous effort. The problem was to have still more dramatic effects for the inhabitants of the city of Abadla and the five farm villages in the commune, where the concern was to obtain drinking water.

The situation was to be equally serious where the livestock and farmlands were concerned.

What did the administration do in this period of catastrophe? We asked this question in an effort to establish the basic factors for more or less relative answers. The administration responsible for the area was in that era unstable, and was characterized above all by the inability to adapt to the conditions prevailing in the region.

A number of officials from the northern part of the country followed one upon the other at the head of the administration, for increasingly short periods of time. The post was often vacant for lengthy periods, and no decisions could be made. The result of all this was anarchy and abandonment.

The seriousness of the situation was such that the very lives of the inhabitants were threatened. It is honestly and reasonably legitimate to wonder if this state of affairs was exclusively due to fate or whether it might not be the consequence of another element taking advantage of the natural catastrophe to suppress the development of a region which was beginning to live in an atmosphere of warmth and prosperity.

This state of affairs was not limited to the farm sector. The city of Abadla was no longer what it had been a short time before, and of all the greenery which embellished it, nothing remained but a few trees, as if to serve as reminders of a time now past or to guide those who might decide one day to give back to their city its verdant aspect and vital substance.

The deterioration of life in this region has also been reflected in a large number of development projects which have been abandoned. The investments intended for them were used for water-prospecting operations, which have become rare, whereas they were previously nonexistent.

And so it is that after having attracted many citizens, the plain has become an unlivable zone. A number of families have moved away to Bechar, Taghit, etc.

The manpower used in the projects declined sharply, and the difficulty of replacing workers was such that the development projects were suspended.

#### Nature Abhors a Vacuum

When man devoted his love, his devotion, his effort and his sweat to the land, it gave him back in exchange plants, wheat, trees and fruits. In other words, happiness at the cost of hard work. This is the logic of the relations between man and the land. But the land has always refused to give man this gift whenever man has neglected it in favor of other concerns. And so the troughs of the irrigation canals through the plain are filled with sand and weeds today. And so, under the onslaught of the winds and sand, this land, once developed and fertile, these trees and also the plants forming hedges, are dying.

Put in another way, conversion to the desert is in full swing again, and this is nature implementing its law.

#### The Problem of Drought

Because of the dangerous deterioration of the plain, a certain exasperation has prevailed among the fellaheen and the population of Abadla, whose main concern was how to obtain drinking water. An attempt was made to bring it from distant zones or to dig wells, but this experiment did not prove successful. Many then began to abandon agriculture and to contemplate a future outside that sector. Some went into transportation, others into building construction, and still others into the service sector in other regions, and farm installations and equipment elsewhere. Thus the tractors which were still functioning would be used to transport water, and those which were unusable were abandoned and left in the desert.

The livestock-breeding experiment attempted in the area had produced encouraging results. The cooperative for raising cattle (imported from Holland), thanks to the support of an animal feed production center, reached a daily production level of 30 liters per cow, thanks to continuous effort, while reproduction proceeded normally. However, the harsh trials experienced by the region in recent times have not spared the cattle herd, to the point that it has almost been reduced to nothing. The official in charge of the cattle-raising cooperative (in existence since September 1982) explained to us that there was a decline from 200 head of cattle to 129 in December 1982 because of illnesses such as tuberculosis.

The steps urgently needed in this connection were never taken. Where health care is concerned, a veterinarian of Indian nationality often visits this cooperative, but his work is limited to legal reports pertaining to the usefulness, or lack of it, of this or that cow. To judge from what he says, he is lacking resources.

#### Symptoms of the Crisis

In these past 2 years, unfavorable natural conditions added to the carelessness which has characterized administrative operations and the management system have hastened the failure of the experiment. The preventive measures needed to halt this deterioration were never adopted. Hundreds of hectares of area once developed became covered with salt and weeds, thus destroying the fertility of the land.

Added to all this were the sandstorms, the devastating winds, etc.

Now a question arises: shouldn't steps have been taken to halt this deterioration, or at least to save what could have been saved? What is anguishing is that those responsible for the plain had extensive resources which should have been used effectively even before this drama became a tragedy.

And so we have stressed one of the aspects of the crisis. However, we would like to deal with another, pertaining to the problem of the vacuum left in this region since the ANP [People's National Army] withdrew from the work sites on the plain, on the basis of an agreement with the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform. We know that the ANP provided substantial and permanent manpower, organization and strict discipline. Each cooperative had a number of technicians in the agriculture field, all of them aware of the scope and the meaning of and the prospects for this experiment in terms of agriculture in the south. Since this withdrawal, the new body in charge of management and exploitation of the plain has but three agricultural experts, and only 1,657 men and women peasant workers.

What is funny about this state of affairs is that this maneuver came about spontaneously and prematurely. In fact, the project was entrusted to the Rural Development Institute even before its completion. Logically, this responsibility should only have been transferred after a certain part of the project had been executed. Also, this operation should have been carried out gradually and in accordance with a plan agreed upon by the Ministry of

Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, on the one hand, and the High Commission for National Service, on the other.

In effecting this, the specific conditions on the plain and its technical and human resources and needs should have been taken into account.

As we have stressed, the Rural Development Institute took over this task, with the first stages being bypassed, and so it was that the problem of coordination and stability subsequently arose.

A number of cadres succeeded one another in heading that institute. They were all capable of integration in this region, but they were unable to apply any plan of action, nor even to adapt to the rhythm of work to be found there prior to the transfer. This is why the post of official in charge remained for all practical purposes vacant, which had the effect of leading to anarchy, improvisation and problems with the various departments in connection with the project. The debts and the difficulties were such that it was impossible to conceive of a solution, at a time when the leadership post was for the most part unfilled.

This situation remained unchanged until the end of 1981, when the long-awaited official was finally appointed. Steps were then taken to resolve the problems which had accumulated and to put an end to the deterioration of the region. A dredging operation was then undertaken at the dam to remove sand and the accumulation of mud from it. The canal located to the east was also cleared of sand. Plots of land were developed and prepared for planting. To this end, a certain number of farm machines were put into service.

The fact nonetheless remained that all of the steps taken together came to less than was necessary to halt this deterioration.

Is Rescue Beginning?

In the month of June of last year, the volume of the dam water increased following two successive floodings of the Gair Wadi, such as to reach 44 million cubic meters. This enabled the dam to distribute some 1,500 liters per second to the project, and to guarantee constant irrigation until the end of the month of April 1983.

That being the case, it is expected that as of that date, the volume of water at the dam will increase following the melting of the snows covering the Moroccan Atlas Mountains.

The fact nonetheless remains that the 1,500 liters per second are not enough to allow irrigation of the plain under discussion, the more so since the salt water source found in the region poses a great threat to agriculture.

To this must be added the nefarious effects of the evaporation rate, which varies between 25 percent and 60 percent in winter and summer. The expected efficiency of the available volume of water is thus threatened by the great distance--50 kilometers--separating the Djorf Ettorba Dam from the secondary

dam which supplies the plain with water. The administrators of the dam propose that a certain number of canals be built to carry this water over the great distance. But this proposal was rejected on the level of the ministry involved, perhaps because of the excessive cost of executing it, and against the advice of the experts who confirmed the need for it.

It is strange to note that despite the large volume available, there has been no agricultural activity on the plain, with the exception of the development of a very small area, and that occurred since the month of June last. In addition, the city of Abadla itself and its five farm villages are still suffering from a water shortage.

#### Return of the National Service Soldiers

In winter of this year, the young men doing their national service returned to Abadla, this time to rescue a dying experiment, and to give life and a soul to what they had achieved in the past. They did away with the weeds covering hundreds of hectares of land, which they then drained. In addition, they repaired the canals as well as the pipes and the fences. They came to save what could be saved, and to give the region a soul. In any case, this is only a beginning.

Finally, large areas of the plain are beginning to turn green again. But this has not yet inspired those given allotments with the desire to return to the serious work which characterized the finest periods of the past. Their farm activity is still restricted to their incidental activities on limited areas of no more than 20 square meters.

In recent times, the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform has decided to establish an office which will take charge of the management of this plain, in the belief that to regain the rhythm of the period prior to 1979, the exploitation methods in the region will have to be revised. The change involves dissolving the cooperatives in order to implement a new system in which the peasants become tenants rather than lotholders.

However, the problem which continues to exist is that it is difficult to conceive of a formula which will make it possible to master vast areas of land and to exploit 5,400 hectares.

It is not impossible to further expand the area of the plain, provided there is a sincere will, labor organization and discipline. Rational use can be made of the human and material resources, as well as the water energy of the Djorf Torba Dam. It is in addition a question of demonstrating a keen awareness of this experiment which opens up great prospects, in view of the vast extent of the land areas in the south. To date this region has always been regarded as one containing wealth which would eventually disappear. This approach has led us to a poor appreciation of labor, and above all of the importance of farm activity in the south. This bitter experience is likely to occur again if strict measures guaranteeing proper exploitation of the plain are not adopted to this end. It is a fact that labor is viewed in this region by the farm workers, as well as the office management apparatus, as a means of earning a living.

The system of compensation is a concept pertaining to labor in certain industrial, agricultural and other enterprises in the northern part of the country. Now as the Abadla experiment demonstrates, this system has limited efficiency where the southern region is concerned. This has to do with the conditions and the agricultural nature of the region. Those who lived through the Abadla experiment, including peasants and others, have more forcefully than ever expressed their fear of seeing this experiment repeated.

Consequently, the Abadla area should not become a field of experimentation again, in which farm production is reduced to zero, and in which anarchy, improvisation and the inability to exploit an infrastructure at the mercy of sand and rust predominate. This experiment should instead become a factor contributing to the decisions of the Central Committee with regard to agriculture in general, and investments in the southern area more particularly.

It is necessary, moreover, that from this experiment we should derive a vision of the prospects for self-sufficiency in food production by the year 2000. For all of these reasons, the parties involved and sharing an interest should do their utmost to find an effective formula for action which can give back to this experiment its political, economic and strategic meaning.

5157

CSO: 4519/275



## DIFFICULTIES WITH IMF CONTINUE

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 3, 30 Apr 83 p 33

[Article: "Negotiations Collapse, Dispute Renewed Between Egypt and the International Monetary Fund"]

[Text] A new dispute has erupted between Egypt and the International Monetary Fund [IMF]! The round of consultations and discussions, which the IMF mission has been conducting in Egypt during the past month, and the intensive meetings between Egyptian officials and members of the mission have ended without any agreement of viewpoints and with a dispute over how the two sides view the program of economic and monetary reform, which IMF experts are proposing be applied in Egypt.

It is true that the IMF mission had expressed satisfaction with the success of economic management in Egypt with regard to fixing wages, or their small average increase during this year, with the decline in subsidy finds over what was earmarked in the budget, during the first half of this fiscal year, and the drop in some of the other general governmental expenditures, all of which has shared in a decline in the budget deficit during the first 6 months of this fiscal year.

However, the mission also expressed its dissatisfaction with the fact that Egyptian economic management has not adopted any effective measures concerning the rest of the IMF experts' proposals.

### An Agreement Was Not Implemented

Since the resumption of consultations between the Egyptian government and the IMF in the middle of 1981, after an interruption that lasted nearly a year, the IMF once again asked the Egyptian government to implement a specific program of fiscal and economic reform, as a condition for obtaining the loan that it was requesting from the IMF to the tune of \$720 million. Egypt had been committed in 1978 to a 3-year agreement with the IMF, during which it had

pledged itself to carry out several IMF demands in exchange for a \$450 million loan over a 3-year period. However, it was unable to implement that agreement completely, and the IMF stopped the granting of its loan to Egypt, after it had withdrawn about \$90 million. This was done because the Egyptian government had not implemented all of the IMF requests, to which it had pledged itself in its agreement with the IMF.

Under the pressure of signs of a new crisis over sources of foreign currency in 1981, Egypt again contacted the IMF, requesting its assistance and advice and a new loan from it in the amount of \$720 million.

When consultations were again resumed between Egypt and the IMF, and its technical envoys began to arrive in Egypt to study its fiscal and economic situation, naturally the IMF experts proposed for Egypt a specific program of fiscal and economic reform, and made its implementation a condition for obtaining the desired loan.

This program included raising domestic energy prices, so that they would be in line with world prices, raising the interest rate for transactions in the Egyptian pound by 5.5 percent, limiting expansion of credit and granting of loans to the private sector, establishing a less ambitious development program and reducing investments, revising the prevalent exchange system by integrating the money in circulation in both the commercial banks and the Central Bank, along with reducing the Egyptian pound's exchange rate, so as to bring it closer to the actual price, which is the prevailing rate in the free market or the black market, reconsidering the prices of products in the public sector, so that these products would be priced on the basis of the actual cost, and amending the excise taxes, so that they would be a percentage of the sale price and not a fixed amount. In addition, the program called for a large reduction in the funds for commodity subsidies earmarked in the budget, which has increased annually until it amounts this year to more than 2 billion pounds in the general budget.

#### Repeated Demands

During the recent visit that the IMF delegation made to Egypt, the IMF experts repeated these demands to Egyptian officials, led by the ministers of planning, finance and the economy. The members of the delegation, led by Dr 'Abd-al-Shakkur Sha'lan, chief of the IMF's Middle East Office, tried to persuade the Egyptian administration that implementation of the IMF's demands had now become an unavoidable necessity, in order to confront the new emergency situation which was imposed upon Egypt following the drop in Egyptian oil prices, and which would result in a decline in Egypt's sources of foreign currency, during at least the first 8 months of this year, by about 750 million pounds, i.e., about three-fourths of Egypt's reserves of foreign currency. Additionally, that would be reflected in the state's revenues, since it would lead to a reduction in the remittances of Egyptians working abroad, a reduction in the yield from oil profits, a reduction in Suez Canal transit fees and a reduction in the yield from taxes and custom duties. This decline in revenues must be met with a reduction in public expenditures--as the IMF experts proposed--especially in investment and subsidy funds, and possibly in funds allocated for expenditures on the Egyptian armed forces.

## Official Reservations

However, Egyptian officials expressed their reservations over certain of the IMF demands, and over implementing them all at once, or with the rates that the IMF proposed, such as making a large reduction in the subsidies, raising the prices of domestic fuel or raising the interest rate on transactions in the pound by a large percentage, because circumstances prevented implementing these demands all at once.

Egyptian officials expressed their willingness to implement some of the other demands at lesser rates than proposed by the IMF experts.

However, the IMF delegation insisted on the implementation of all its demands, and refused to accept the Egyptian point of view.

Accordingly, the Egyptian economic authorities tried to obtain another loan from the IMF, in accordance with the system of ordinary withdrawal rights, which does not require commitment to the implementation of a specific program of fiscal reform, as determined by the IMF experts, especially since total loans obtained by Egypt from the IMF during the 70's amounted to about \$720 million, most of which has been paid off, with only about \$100 million left to be paid. This is less than a quarter of Egypt's share in the fund. However, the IMF delegation also rejected this Egyptian proposal. Therefore, the IMF mission left Egypt without any agreement being reached, or rather, after the revival of the old dispute between the Egyptian government and the IMF, especially concerning the three basic IMF demands, i.e., reduction of subsidies, the Egyptian pound exchange rate and investments.

7005

CSO: 4504/433

COMMUNIST PARTY DEPLORES REGIME'S CONTINUING FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICIES

Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic No 55, Jun 83 pp 18-20

[Article: "The Egyptian Communist Party's Political Report: The Main Trends in the Domestic Situation; Paris AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI in Arabic; monthly organ of the Egyptian Communist Party]

[Text] The Political Bureau of the Egyptian Communist Party has issued a report titled "For the Sake of Real Change in Egypt and the upsurge of the Arab Liberation Movement," consisting of three sections, international, Arab and local. AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI herewith published excerpts from the part related to Egypt:

The report defines the basic situations after al-Sadat's death as follows:

No change has occurred in the class nature of the regime and no turnover has occurred in the members of the ruling class alliance, in spite of the elimination of some al-Sadatist symbols and the prosecution of some members of al-Sadat's family.

Mubarak still is to one degree or another anxious to distinguish himself from his predecessor in conduct and practice and increasingly to express the interests of the productive segment of the ruling class alliance.

Attempts to change the balance of forces within the ruling alliance by causing the retrenchment of the parasitic sector of the bourgeois ruling class are still proceeding falteringly and hesitantly, out of the concern to avoid infringing on this sector as a social force participating in the ruling alliance.

Some limited favorable changes are still being made which do not infringe on the essential features of the policies of apostasy.

The Essential Features of the Policies of Apostasy Remains As They Were

In spite of all the official admissions of economic disaster, and in spite of all the media clamor about the need to correct the course of the economy, the regime has not adopted a single economic measure to help rid the country of the policies that brought this disaster upon the country. Indeed, the regime has not taken steps worth mentioning even to guide or amend its policies.

The ill-starred policy of liberalization, in its al-Sadatist conception, is still the official policy of the government, in spite of all the noise stirred up about "orienting this policy. The system of importing without currency transfers is still in effect.

The new 5-year plan (1982-87) reveals the ruling regime's adherence to the same objectives and orientations as those of the al-Sadat era in the area of economics. The plan is focussing its attention on the activities of the nonproductive private sector, and the proportion of private sector investment has dropped from 32 to 24 percent. The execution of the plan will of necessity lead to a further aggravation of the disruption in the distribution of national income.

The regime has started to launch a vicious new attack against the rights of the poor and the small peasants in order to consolidate the positions of the big agricultural landowners and to serve the interests of large Egyptian and foreign agricultural capitalism which has started to invade the Egyptian countryside intensively in recent years. The People's Assembly is now debating proposed amendments to the Agrarian Reform Law which will constitute an assault on the peasants' gains and a regression from the Agrarian Reform Law. These amendments will demand that agricultural landowners be empowered to expel tenant peasants in the event the landlord or tenant dies or the landlord wishes to sell the land, and they will also permit the landowner to transfer from cash rent to sharecrop-per rent. The regime's emphasis on basic commodities is still in effect, and the prices of goods are being raised wholesale without commotion.

Meanwhile, the wealth of a handful of parasitic millionaires is multiplying with every passing day. The proportion of Egyptians living below the poverty line in 1981 came to 33 percent in the urban areas, 44 percent in the rural areas, and 37 percent in the nation as a whole.

The regime is still anxious not to challenge parasitic capitalism as a social class and it still adheres to it as a component of the ruling alliance, contenting itself with trimming its claws and reducing its political influence without infringing on its economic conditions, thus enabling parasitic capitalism to continue to grow and get rich, and consequently permitting it to consolidate its political influence and control or affect political decisionmaking.

While the barbaric Israeli aggression on Lebanon, and the escalation of the people's struggle in Egypt against imperialism and Zionism, have made it mandatory that the regime be unenthusiastic over its relations with Israel, freeze some sections of its former agreements with it, go slowly with normalization procedures, stumble in the autonomy negotiations, and advance its dealings with the Liberation Organization, these will all continue to resemble passing phenomena that are fated to disappear, as long as the regime's adherence to Camp David in platform and in text continues, as long as the regime's loyalty to its essential commitments relative to the Camp David documents, among them the provision of Egyptian oil for the Israeli enemy, remains in effect, as long as the Israeli ambassador continues to lurk on Egyptian territory, as long as the regime continues its pressures on the Palestine Liberation Organization to urge it to follow the al-Sadatist platform which is based on the grant of prior concessions and the unilateral recognition of Israel, as long as the regime continues to rush impulsively after American solutions, promotes the Reagan initiative, and urges what it calls the constructive role which American imperialism is playing in the region, and as long as the regime is imposing strict restrictions on any popular movement against American imperialism and Israel.

While Mubarak's practices since his assumption of the presidency have created a relatively better political climate and have given the political opposition

greater opportunities to express themselves, the regime is still adhering in essence to anti-democratic policies, and insists on continuing the state of emergency. It is packing its prisons with political detainees while continuing political trials of the people in opposition to it. It is adhering to the arsenal of laws restricting freedom which al-Sadat issued. Mubarak himself has stood up to defend them and justify their retention, has refused resolutely to abrogate them, has ridiculed the people who are calling for their abrogation, and has enthusiastically defended the Ethics Law which all noble and democratic forces inside and outside Egypt have condemned, and one of the prominent ruling party experts on law has called "a disgrace." The regime has interfered grossly in the student federation elections in the universities and is continuing its aggressive scheme against the Lawyers' Union.

#### Aggravated Class Struggle Is the Basic Characteristic of the Internal Situation

The class struggle going on in Egypt has been distinguished, in the past year, by:

An incipient surge toward national struggle, an awakening in the national struggle thanks to the parties, the national and progressive forces, the labor and professional unions, and committees with the character of a front, such as the National Committee to Support the Palestinian and Lebanese People and the Committee to Defend the National Culture. This struggle has started to create a qualitative transformation in the consciousness of growing sectors of the people and in the mass atmosphere in general toward Camp David and normalization, and the effects of the al-Sadatist brainwashing and his psychological war against Arab affiliation and national affiliation have started to disappear.

An escalation of the democratic struggle, embodied in the broad campaign against the continued state of emergency and its extension for another year, the demand for the release of prisoners, the campaign against torture and the enlarged lawyers' movement for the restoration of legitimacy to the Lawyers' Union.

The growing economic and social struggle, embodied in a series of workers' and students' strikes and sitdowns and a fierce struggle in defense of the public sector and the gains of the workers and peasants.

In all these struggles, our party has played a vanguard, innovative, effective and growing role.

The class struggle in Egypt is taking place essentially between the ruling class alliance on the one hand and the forces of change on the other.

In addition, a struggle is going on within the regime and the ruling alliance engendered by secondary contradictions between the forces that aim at establishing al-Sadatism without al-Sadat and the forces that have the goal of guiding the regime's policies and rectifying its practices.

The class struggle, in the past period, has concentrated on a group of focal issues, foremost of which are the following:

1. The struggle over economic and social policy.

This struggle has essentially centered on liberalization policy, conceptions regarding development, positions on parasitic capitalism and the spreading phenomenon of corruption, and positions on the masses' economic demands.

#### Regarding Liberalization

The al-Sadatist forces have insisted on adhering to the policy of liberalization in the consumerist sense, which provides the best climate for the incubation, growth and enrichment of parasitic capitalists.

The forces for guidance within the regime have called for the shift of liberalization to a "productive liberalization" to serve the interests of the major elements of productive capitalism.

Meanwhile the forces of change have opposed the platform of the policy of liberalization from its very foundations, and have demanded that it be abandoned, that the domestic economy be protected from infiltration by foreign monopolies and that foreign investment legislation be abrogated.

The labor union movement has joined the forces of change. The general assembly of the General Federation of Workers' Unions has decided to demand that the establishment of any foreign company engaging in economic activity similar to [that of] any domestic firm be suspended.

#### Regarding Development

The al-Sadatist forces, which have wrecked development in Egypt, have turned away from all efforts to develop production and have proceeded to rush after nonproductive activities, or activities which are at the margin of the production process.

The forces of guidance have concentrated light and attention on industrialization and increased production in accordance with a platform which separates development from raising the standard of living of the masses of the people, so that increased production will be devoted to increasing the profits accruing to the coffers of the major capitalists, at a time when the masses' suffering is becoming intense.

The forces of change demand comprehensive economic and social development founded on a planning into whose consideration the interests of the masses of the people will essentially enter; this will put a limit to the parasitic plundering of the resources of the country, will repel the invasions of our economy by foreign monopoly, and will link economic growth with equity in distribution, so that increases in national income will be directed to greater and greater basic social, cultural, educational and medical services instead of flowing into the accounts of the exploitative, domineering few.

#### Regarding the Demands of the Masses of the People

The al-Sadatist forces have clung to their fixed position on this demand, which is rejection and repression by iron and fire - a position which manifested itself under al-Sadat's aegis in the crushing of mass movements and worker strikes by the tanks, helicopters and military units of Central Security.

The forces of guidance have ignored the group demands of the masses, have condemned the promotion of such demands, and have condemned "special interest groups." The new 5-year plan has failed to respond to the solution of the everyday problems of the masses.

Meanwhile, the budget of the security agencies and allocations to the Central Security Forces are swelling year after year. The regime uses a paucity of resources and revenues as an excuse for failing to respond to the demands of the masses and tries to divert the masses with tranquilizers by means of superficial, formalistic bureaucratic solutions to their problems which are alien to the needed change of social platform.

The forces of change have continued to struggle for the sake of the gains of the masses of the people, especially the workers and the peasants. The working class has launched a series of strikes and sit-ins which have reflected the escalating spirit of struggle for the sake of gaining better work circumstances and conditions.

#### Regarding Parasitic Capitalism and the Phenomenon of Corruption

The al-Sadatist forces have tirelessly resisted the escalating campaign against corruption and parasitic capitalism in order to preserve and strengthen their positions. These forces have started to accuse the forces of change of attempting to distort the image and reputation of Egypt.

Toward the end of 1982 the organizational secretariat of the ruling party issued a publication which clearly expressed the al-Sadatist forces' policy, accusing the opposition of creating illusory issues and alleged acts of aberrance with the objective of raising provocation, casting doubts, and exploiting the masses' sufferings.

The forces of guidance, for their part, have tried to portray corruption as mere moral deviation of an individual character, and they have been anxious, in order to underline the change in their conduct, to prosecute occasional symbols of parasitic activities in an attempt to settle all scores against individuals. Each new prosecution of a symbol of parasitic capitalism has led to the involvement of additional government organizations and officials in those organizations, by virtue of the intermarriage and interconnection of the interests of parasitic capitalism and senior bureaucrats and technocrats in the government and the public sector.

The forces of change have demanded that class corruption, and not just individual corruption, be challenged and that corruption be treated as a social phenomenon which has become widespread under the aegis of the hegemony of capitalism. They have called for the need to extirpate parasitic capitalism in its capacity as a social group, eliminate its hegemony over the agencies and institutions of the government, and confiscate the wealth of the parasites.

#### 2. The struggle over the position regarding the public sector.

For years, the al-Sadatist forces have worked ceaselessly to sustain a vicious attack against the public sector, with the objective of demolishing it, step by



step, liquidating its role in society by shutting down some of its units on the pretext that they are incurring losses, selling its successful units or getting them involved in joint projects with foreign capital, liquidating its links by eliminating organizations, and constantly weakening it in the face of unequal competition from the Egyptian private sector and foreign capital.

In the wake of Mubarak's assumption of the presidency, the campaign directly to liquidate the public sector fell off somewhat, especially after it came up against violent resistance from the Egyptian working class and the forces of change. On the basis of Mubarak's instructions, the government withdrew the draft law and Mubarak declared his objection to the principle of offering public sector shares for trade on the stock exchange, expressed his interest in supporting the public sector, and proceeded to make inspection tours of the units in it.

The forces of guidance have elected to retain the public sector while guiding it in the direction of developing and expanding productive capital in Egypt.

The forces of guidance have started to promote bureaucratic methods to support the public sector, such as establishing holding companies or strengthening the grip of the government apparatus and ministers over public sector units.

The view of some bureaucratic and technocratic leaders of the public sector regarding the support and development of the public sector consists of liberating it from government tutelage, attaining independence of administration within it, and freeing it to issue bylaws, deal with workers, and reduce their rights and guarantees against severance.

The forces of change, for their part, have waged a successful struggle to defend the public sector in which the Egyptian working class has played a prominent, innovative vanguard role, forming committees with the character of a front to defend the public sector at worksites under the initiative of the national and democratic forces. The union movement has contributed an effective role in the struggle, and the leaders of the General Federation of Workers' Unions belonging to the ruling party have not been absent from it.

While this mass resistance has succeeded in blunting the vicious attack on the public sector and has obstructed efforts at direct liquidation, the actual elimination of the leading role of the public sector in the domestic economy is still continuing. This elimination will be achieved not merely by closing down or selling public sector units or offering their shares for trading, but by more devious and dangerous means, by the mobilization of the public sector to serve foreign and Egyptian capital and to exploit its resources to finance private sector and investment company projects. The role of the public sector as a basic investor in investment companies has been noticeably prominent in recent years. The liquidation of the public sector can be achieved in another area by liquidating it technically from within, by plundering its personnel and technical labor, enticing them to emigrate to work in the investment companies or encouraging them to hasten to find job opportunities abroad.

Therefore, our party is struggling for true, effective protection of the public sector and support for its true development, stressing its requisite national role.

It is not enough for the forces of change to succeed in preserving the public sector as an entity; rather, the test lies in the role which this entity will play in the society and the interests it will serve.

### 3. The struggle over the position on imperialist hegemony.

The al-Sadatist forces have continued to work to deepen relations of blatant subordination to American imperialism. In September 1982 the government moved to initial an Egyptian-American treaty to encourage and protect investment which sanctified economic subordination to American imperialism.

The forces of change immediately took a stand against this grave conspiracy and took the initiative of divulging the essence of the agreement, which infringed on national sovereignty and was destructive of the domestic economy. It proceeded to intensify the struggle to expose the role of American imperialism as the first and major enemy of the Egyptian people.

The forces of guidance, since Mubarak took charge, have been careful to modify the policy of blatant subordination to American imperialism which al-Sadat had pursued, have tended to highlight nonalignment, and have declared that the restoration of normal relations with the Soviets is in the course of being studied. In the wake of the disclosure of the essence of the draft American-Egyptian treaty by the forces of change, Mubarak has ordered that the procedures for approving it be suspended and that it be studied again, and some leaders of the ruling party have expressed numerous reservations over the provisions of the agreement.

### 4. The struggle over the position regarding the Israeli enemy.

The al-Sadatist forces have called for a total literal commitment to the Camp David agreements and the peace treaty with Israel as policy, and the organizational secretariat of the ruling party, in its publication issued at the end of 1982, attacked the appeal to freeze Camp David and expel the ambassador.

The forces of change continued their struggle against the Camp David agreements and normalization and organized a mass signature campaign to demand the expulsion of the Israeli ambassador. Some successful forms of solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people were also manifested in the days of the siege of Beirut.

The general conference of clubs of faculty members in Egyptian universities issued resolutions prohibiting dealings with Israeli universities, and committees of support against participation by Israeli professors in scientific conferences were active in the universities. More than 100 university professors in Alexandria University sent cables of protest to the president and the president of Alexandria University, protesting the grant of permission to certain Israeli professors to take part in the activities of the international conference of photochemistry which the University of Alexandria had organized.

The guidance forces have adhered to their commitment to Camp David while attempting to slow down the normalization procedures in a quiet, undeclared, indirect manner.

## 5. The struggle over the position on democracy.

The al-Sadatist forces have continued their efforts to disturb the relatively better political climate which Mubarak's actions since assuming the presidency have engendered and they have exerted pressure on Mubarak from within the ruling party to resume al-Sadat's repressive platform in dealing with the opposition.

The forces of change are struggling to end the state of emergency and eliminate legislation restrictive of people's freedoms, especially that which restricts the right to form political parties and are struggling for the sake of the attainment by all forces of the establishment of their own independent parties. They demand a comprehensive democratic transformation. The forces of change have succeeded in forming the Egyptian Committee for the Defense of Freedoms, which has unified the efforts of all the political forces in the area of the defense of democracy.

The forces of change have also succeeded in propelling the labor union movement onto the stage of democratic struggle. The general assembly of the General Federation of Workers' Unions recently requested a review of the Law Protecting the Domestic Front and the Ethics Law and asked that labor nominations in the coming elections not be submitted to the socialist prosecutor. They have also demanded the abrogation of all exceptional laws and the preservation of the independence of the union movement and have demanded that attempts by the ruling party to establish party committees for itself within productive units and worker groupings be thwarted.

### Favorable Changes and Our Position on Them

The class struggle which the forces of change have led has realized some gains, and one can derive a major lesson from the developments of the past year, whose gist is that when the masses have moved and have intensified their struggle, they have been able to seize partial gains and impose specific setbacks on some aspects of the policy of apostasy.

In the current context of the balance of forces between the camp of revolution and the camp of counterrevolution, and in the context of the incomplete maturation of the subjective and objective elements needed to realize a comprehensive radical change, these limited changes are of importance, and one must deal with them intelligently and determine the suitable slogans and practices which one can exploit to the maximum in order to prepare the ground for the elimination of the policies of apostasy and surrender and provide the necessary circumstances for advancing the revolutionary process.

For the sake of this premise, our party considers that the national democratic parties have the duty of standing up to every attempt to cause these changes to lapse or to relinquish them, in order to guarantee the continuation of the current climate, which is more suitable for the mass struggle.

However, the protection of these changes will come about not by boasting about them or exaggerating their status, but rather, to the contrary, by revealing their limited nature and by constantly struggling for more comprehensive, deeper changes.

Today, 17 months of the slogan of "turning a new leaf" which President Mubarak propounded have gone by, which confirms the validity of the conclusions of our party's documents which state that radical comprehensive change means a hard class struggle which cannot be realized from above but rather is realized through organized effective mass struggle under the leadership of a democratic national front in which the party of the working class plays a growing leadership role.

#### The Nature of the Desired Change

The change the masses of our people demand is not the replacement of faces which have been discredited by ones that have not yet been, the embellishment or enhancement of the ugly face of al-Sadatist, or the repair or patching up of the destroyed system of al-Sadatist subservience, and it is not an artificial breathing spell or process of transfusion which will benefit the moribund al-Sadatist alliance.

The change which the masses of our people want is deliverance from the policies of apostasy and surrender which have brought our people to the depths of the abyss, the elimination of the political, economic and social influence of the social forces which these policies have brought to the fore, the confiscation and nationalization of their fortunes, which were plundered from the treasuries of the government and usurped from the blood of the people and the sweat of the brow of the toilers, and the purging from the institutions of government of the representatives of these social forces and their hangers-on.

The change to which the masses of our people aspire is the repudiation of the road to subordination to neocolonialism and the pursuit of the road to independent development. The ordeal which our people are going through is not the product of mistakes, poor evaluations, or the deviation of a given official or another, but rather is the natural and inevitable upshot of capitalist growth in the context of subordination to the system of neocolonialism, the bitter fruit of the policy of liberalization and the surrender of the keys to our economy to the multinational monopolies.

The ideas which the masses of our people want are ones which are translated into perceptible results which will alleviate their suffering will limit the class difference between the parasites and big capitalists on the one hand and the workers, peasants and intermediate classes of the people on the other, and will be reflected in tangible measures which will inhibit vile parasitical plunder and greedy capitalistic exploitation and raise the masses' standard of living.

In brief, the desired change consists of a group of measures to be taken in favor of specific social forces and groups against and at the expense of other groups and classes which are antagonistic to the people, exploit them and dominate them.

The salvation of the nation will not occur spontaneously, and the desired change will not be realized by administrative decrees from above. It will take place through class struggle against the puppet class forces which have an interest in the continuation of the old conditions.

Therefore the instrument and strike force for the attainment of real change are the masses of the people, the masses of the workers, peasants, the lower bureaucracy and the national bourgeoisie. Thus it is impossible that change could occur from within the ruling alliance or that the salvation of the nation could come about as a gift from the regime which has caused the nation's ordeal, especially since time has revealed the inadequacy of the notion the forces of guidance within the regime have adopted on change and their limited ability to bring it about.

The national alternative to the policies of apostasy will not be realized through the ruling al-Sadatist alliance but rather must be forged by the masses.

However, the mass struggle will not be effective and decisive in the battle for change unless it is furnished with the elements of awareness and organization, and unless it is rid of haphazard conduct.

Therefore, we have been, and always will be, in favor of the enlightenment of the masses, the organization of their movement and the escalation of their struggle to achieve their social, economic and political demands.

In another area, the conversion of the masses of the people into an effective force in the struggle for change requires that these masses be politicized and that they be drawn to take interest in political issues and join the political struggle. That will not automatically be achieved by those masses, but will be achieved rather through concentrated, organized, persistent daily activity within the ranks of the working class, the peasants and the other forces which the policies of apostasy and capitulation are grinding down or harming, which are going through crisis, which are suffering from the ordeal and which are aspiring toward change. It is necessary to connect the particular problems of the masses with the general issues of the nation and enlighten the masses by linking the two in an inseparable manner.

It is also necessary to work perseverantly to shift the movement of the masses and to advance it from a state of observing and waiting to a state of action, immersion, action and conscious, organized activity. The masses will not move effectively in the direction of the pursuit of change unless they are organized in their political parties and mass organizations, unless they are closely attached to their vanguards, and unless these vanguards are capable of mobilizing these masses and providing them with a program for combat and appropriate combative slogans.

It is necessary that all the detachments of the Egyptian national movement join together in the context of a front. The national democratic forces have succeeded in forming numerous types of committees with the character of a front, but these committees act in the framework of partial issues, and front activity is still short of the level which the stage demands. The national democratic forces must hasten the steps to build their strategic front, the National Democratic Front, and to declare their tentative front, the Front of National Salvation.

## Our Party's Position on the Ruling Regime

Our party's position on the ruling regime is distinct from subservient right-wing hypotheses and secessionist left wing hypotheses whose banner is borne by some political forces in Egypt. Our party, in determining this position, proceeds from four specific considerations:

### First, the Class Nature of the Regime

Our party's program has stated that the powers under al-Sadat's aegis embodied a reactionary subservient class alliance led by parasitic capitalism and containing the following class forces:

Parasitical capitalism, especially compradores; the higher levels of the bureaucracy and technocracy, which have connections with imperialism and international monopoly capitalism; industrial, commercial and large agricultural capitalism, connected to foreign capitalism, foreign trade, and the export of crops; and feudalist cliques.

After the death of al-Sadat, the class nature of the regime did not change, and parasitic capitalism, which is a distinctive class of the large bourgeoisie, still dominates the most powerful positions in the political, executive and legislative institutions of the regime. It is the main power center among the authorities. That explains the survival of the essence of the al-Sadatist policies and the faltering and vacillating steps toward guidance. The al-Sadatist forces are still the most extremely effective element in the ruling alliance. For all these reasons, our party's strategic position regarding the regime remains as it was.

### Second, the Distinctive View of the Institution of the Presidency

Our party, in March 1982, pointed out, in the report of its political bureau, that the institution of the presidency has been gravitating more and more toward the expression of the interests of the productive sector of the Egyptian bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic and technocratic bourgeoisie since the death of al-Sadat. The development of events has underlined the soundness of our party's position of insisting on the importance of closely watching the phenomenon of the difference in conduct between the institution of the presidency and parasitical capitalism, within the context of the ruling alliance, when it stated that the significance of this difference was that the institution of the presidency no longer played the role it had in the past under al-Sadat, as a basic front-line bastion of parasitic capitalism and the spearhead of counterrevolution. However, at the same time, our party warned, and still is warning, of any exaggeration of the magnitude and scope of this difference in conduct and of any excessive description of the power or desire of the institution of the presidency to strike out at and liquidate parasitic capitalism as a social force. The most that can be expected of the institution of the presidency, in the context of the retention by the ruling al-Sadatist alliance of its previous positions, is a mere attempt to create limited changes in the context of the guidance and programming of the regime's practices.

### Third, Trends in the Indices of the Regime's Relations with Imperialism and Zionism

When our party defines its tentative position on the regime, it is taking into consideration trends in the indices of the regime's relationship with American imperialism and Israel and its expectations of the developments in this relationship.

Though Mubarak started his term with the joint Bright Star maneuvers with American imperialism, the skies of Egyptian-American relations are no longer as clear as they were under al-Sadat. The first signs of a lack of mutual trust between Washington and Mubarak have appeared, especially since Mubarak has abandoned the al-Sadatist platform of abject subservience and has started to propogate the notion of a "special relationship" with the United States.

In the course of the past year, the curve of Egyptian-Israeli relations has continued to decline, and contractions between the Egyptian regime and Israel have grown, starting with the crisis of Mubarak's refusal to go to Jerusalem, then the problem of Taba, and proceeding through the events of Lebanon and the resultant recall of the Egyptian ambassador. Israel does not hide its uneasiness and anxiety over Egypt's position, and it does not cease to exert pressure on the regime to stimulate the faltering process of normalization.

### Fourth, Contradictions within the Regime

With every passing day, the lack of harmony that prevails among the parties in the ruling alliance and the contradictions taking place at the apex of power, within the institutions of rule and in the ranks of the ruling party, are being reaffirmed.

These contradictions are merely secondary, are taking place within the context of the regime, and do not amount to a major contradiction among the parties to the ruling alliance, although they have been tending to escalate and become aggravated, and not to be resolved, under the pressure of the intensifying class struggle underway in the society.

In our party's report to the national and democratic forces, these contradictions and their nature must be apparent, and it is not permissible to ignore them, be indifferent toward them or become engrossed in struggles among cliques in favor of one group against another.

### The Crystallization of the National Salvation Program Is an Urgent Task

The national and democratic forces in Egypt must immediately crystallize a realistic minimal program for national salvation which will be based on three focal points:

1. The liberation of national will, the restoration of national sovereignty and the restoration of national political and economic independence.

2. The fulfilment of the social and economic demands of the masses.

3. The attainment of a comprehensive democratic transformation.

These three focal points are sequentially connected, closely knit and integrated; they cannot be separated from one another, nor can one be carried out while the others are ignored.

Therefore, our party objects to all appeals to push any of these three tasks of the struggle into the shadow.

The masses of the people have been pushed to the brink, their daily sufferings have reached the peak, and their accumulated economic and social problems, which infringe on their standard of living, will no longer tolerate any procrastination or delay.

Solving the problems of the masses and responding to their demands will be realized only through the pursuit of an independent road to economic development which is aimed at realizing planned independent economic development whose goal is to respond to the needs of the masses of the people and constantly raise their standard of living.

The effective struggle to realize this goal, against the social forces which are opposed to its attainment, especially parasitic capitalism, will be out of the question in the context of the destruction of democracy and the deprivation of the masses' right to think, express, organize their ranks, and establish political and union organizations which are capable of leading their political and economic struggle.

Saving the nation from economic ruin and delivering the masses from their economic, social and democratic ordeal will be out of the question except in a national context which will save the nation from the abyss of subservience and replace the policies of apostasy and capitulation with a national policy which will rid the country of Camp David and its implications, will deliver Egypt's political and economic independence from the clutches of American imperialism and Zionism, and will restore to Egypt its Arab identity.

The basic link in the struggle to achieve a comprehensive democratic transformation continues to be the acquisition of the masses' right to establish their independent party and organizations, liberated from all government tutelage.

It is obvious that the national salvation program will be a limited one, capable of rallying around itself the broadest front of forces aspiring to change in spite of their different ideological premises; therefore, the national salvation program will not be the end of the journey and will not bring about deep radical change in the society. It has the objective only of ending the terrible sequence of deterioration and putting the country on the start of the road toward a democratic national regime.



Our success in faithfully meeting all these responsibilities will depend on our party's success in developing its party power, supporting its organizational structure, implanting its positions in the political life of the country, and turning it into a mass party with roots that extend far into Egyptian society and firm, deep relations with the working class, the peasants, the toiling masses and the groups of the young.

This all makes it incumbent on our party in the coming stage that it deeply steep itself to the maximum in the mass struggle, that it give priority to action at the base, in the midst of groups of workers and peasants, stimulate the political struggle in their ranks, and link their economic struggle to the current of general political struggle. It also demands the reaffirmation of our party's presence in all the national economic, social and democratic struggles, its endorsement of the issues and daily problems of the masses, and its success in setting forth the requisite detailed programs for the various national groups and classes, in crystallizing and presenting proper and suitable slogans and in leading the daily struggle of the masses for the sake of the attainment of their demands.

[Signed] The political bureau of the Egyptian Communist Party, February 1983.

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CSO: 4504/424

# PROMINENT PERSONALITIES ASSESS MUBARAK ADMINISTRATION

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 166, 16-22 Apr 83; No 167, 23-29 Apr 83;  
No 168, 30 Apr-6 May 83

[Article: "AL-MAJALLAH Conducts First Poll of Its Kind on Mubarak's Administration at Egyptian, Arab, Palestinian, U.S. and Russian Levels; 15 Prominent Egyptian Personalities Representing Various Sectors and Views Answer Questions"]

[No 166, 16-22 Apr 83, pp 10-22]

[Text] AL-MAJALLAH has conducted a comprehensive poll [istitla'] on Husni Mubarak's administration and its relations with the Arabs, the Palestinians, the United States and Russia and on the domestic situation. It is the first poll of its kind since the present Egyptian president assumed power. AL-MAJALLAH has chosen 15 prominent Egyptian personalities representing various sectors and viewpoints and has discussed with them the main issues in Egypt for which the Arab reader wants answers. The objective of selecting these personalities is to give the clearest and most complete picture possible of Mubarak's administration. AL-MAJALLAH will publish the results of this poll in two parts: The first concerning Egypt's foreign policy and the second, internal conditions. Here is the first part:

AL-MAJALLAH raised with the Egyptian personalities it has interviewed the following main issues concerning Egypt's foreign policy:

## Relations With the Arabs:

1. What are the expectations regarding the relationship between Egypt and the Arabs in the wake of the New Delhi meetings?
2. Since President Mubarak's assumption of power, have there been errors in the position of either of the two parties (Egypt, the Arabs) regarding the relationship?

## Relationship With Palestinians:

1. What should Egypt offer Palestinians and what should Palestinians offer Egypt?

2. Is time in favor of the Palestinian cause or against it?

#### Relations With United States and Soviet Union:

1. Is there a need to resume relations with the Soviet Union?

2. Are Egyptian-U.S. relations the ideal form of relationship between a major power and a developing country?

3. How can Egypt establish a balance in its relationship with the two superpowers and perform its role within the nonaligned framework?

Here are the answers to these questions:

Dr. Muhammad Hilmi Murad, secretary general of the Socialist Labor Party [SLP]:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. I believe that Egyptian-Arab relations will return to normal gradually. The economic, cultural and social relations between the Arab peoples must be considered unalterable, no matter what disagreements, which are the main cause of the division in the Arab ranks, they can be settled if there is good will and if all believe in the importance of uniting Arab ranks in the face of external challenges. These challenges are so serious at this particular time that we must rise above lesser disagreements. We should not force everyone to follow a single political line. Rather, the adoption of more than one line may permit the policy that succeeds to attract others and to offer the Arab homeland a worthy service. There is no place for the exchange of accusations that lead to tension and to an atmosphere unconducive to common action aimed at serving a common goal. There is no place for such accusations, no matter how much we differ in methods.

2. As a citizen, I will not make an absolute judgment on the tendencies of the Arab countries. However, I believe that every tendency has its arguments for taking a course different from the others. One tendency is realistic and the other believes that we must cling to our enthusiasm for a comprehensive solution to the issue and that there should not be any kind of laxity or relaxation in dealing with an obstinate foe. Which of the two tendencies can achieve success in the long run? This is an issue that time will judge. While everyone is trying to persuade the other of his viewpoint, we believe that it is necessary that every tendency must believe in its method, provided that no estrangement is allowed to occur between the two sides and that coordination is established between them.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. It is our duty as Egyptians, as President Mubarak has said after voicing a bitter and severe censure, to support the cause and the Palestinian people because they have a just cause. Lasting and just peace and security will not be achieved in the area without a solution to the Palestinian problem.

As for what the Palestinians should offer, I don't believe they owe us anything other than to listen to whatever opinions and ideas we express about solving [their problem] or supporting their position, provided that they maintain the freedom to act according to what their interests dictate. If President Mubarak has been sharp in his censure, then this is out of his eagerness to establish mutual trust. I believe that the Algiers resolutions, with which President Mubarak was not pleased, emanated from concern for the PLO's internal unity. It is also not expected that they [Palestinians] will abandon fundamental principles, such as their legitimacy as a movement struggling to restore the Palestinians' usurped rights. It is inconceivable that they would declare a unilateral recognition of the State of Israel; otherwise, they would lose the legitimacy of national struggle and thus become a terrorist movement fighting a legitimate state that this action recognizes.

2. The concern for or eagerness to solve the Palestinian issue as soon as possible does not mean that we should accept impractical solutions that will collapse and become worthless in the face of reality. Time cannot harm a just cause. On the contrary, if speeding up matters has its merits, then it also has its shortcomings, because Israel is now in the position of the conceited victor in the wake of the war in Lebanon. It is not expected that it will relax its terms or cede any of its ambitions to an independent and sovereign Lebanon, not to mention solving the Palestinian people's problem and the Palestinian demand for an independent state on their soil. As Israel refused to abandon any of its excesses vis-a-vis Egypt until after the Arab victory in the October 1973 war, it is not expected that it will now budge a hair's breadth from its maximum demands because it is in an excessive state of self-confidence, as evidenced by its defiance of the Reagan initiative, which contains a lot of what Israel is demanding.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. I can answer with an inverse question: What is the justification for severing relations with the Soviet Union? The Soviet Union has never taken a position hostile to Egypt since the two ambassadors were withdrawn. If Egypt declares that it is a nonaligned state, then there is no place for adopting an anti-Soviet position. I don't think that the United States itself objects to the return of the Soviet and Egyptian ambassadors or sees in such a return any action hostile to it.

2. As President Mubarak has said, a state depending on others for its food cannot have a free will because a state supplying another state with food can use this relationship as a means to pressure the recipient politically. Before talking of the relationship with the United States, it is our duty to modify our economic policy to try to rely on ourselves and not to allow our relations with the superpowers to be characterized by an extreme need that can take the form of subservience.

3. It is useful to say that we must eliminate any conflict in the balance of our relations with the two superpowers and in the performance of our role within the nonaligned movement. If our economic conditions under al-Sadat's

administration led to increases in our borrowing without any controls, then those conditions are present no more and we must reconsider the form of this relationship, which is biased in favor of one side. We must support nonalignment and change our domestic conditions so that we can avoid any form of alignment with any side.

Muhammad Rashwan Mahmud, minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. There are two kinds of relations: Diplomatic relations, which are nonexistent now, and normal cultural and economic relations, which continue to exist. So what is missing are the diplomatic relations. President Mubarak has repeatedly declared that Egypt's doors are open but that Egypt refuses custodianship from anybody. Our relationship with the Arab nation is a giving relationship.
2. President Mubarak has taken several initiatives: He has stopped the media campaigns against all Arab states, has received all the guests who have come visiting and has supported Iraq in its war with Iran. What more is Egypt required to do? On the other hand, I believe that some Arabs have done themselves harm. Israel could not dream of more than what the Arabs have done to Egypt. As an official, I do not want to underline mistakes but it is enough to note the latest Libyan attempt to suspend Egypt's membership at the nonaligned conference and the failure [on the part of the Arabs] to respond objectively to numerous solutions to the Palestinian issue.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. Egypt has offered a lot to the Palestinian cause and as President Mubarak has declared, Egypt will continue to be committed to the Palestinian cause and to offer it the maximum support possible in order to reach a solution. The Palestinians cannot offer Egypt anything. Egypt is the one that gives. We only ask the Palestinians to be reasonable and objective, to eschew slogans and to reconsider their calculations.
2. Time is not in favor of the Palestinian cause. Negotiation is the way to make numerous gains. If we imagine that Egypt had not started the negotiating in 1977, could it have achieved what it has now achieved, especially in the wake of the invasion of Lebanon? Israel is trying to confront the Arabs with a fait accompli and the West Bank is actually being annexed now.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. I don't see us as an international force standing in the path of Soviet influence. But I am partial to Arab national interests against a force that wants to infiltrate and cause Arab division. We are against the Soviets in their occupation of Afghanistan and against the creation of axes in the Arab nation. Beyond this, we are with the Soviet Union as a force with whom we want to establish normal relations. When we arm our forces with Soviet weapons for a period of 15 years and then the Soviet Union withholds spare parts from us,

then a significant value in international relations is undermined. Our relationship with the Soviet Union is improving. This does not mean that we are against the United States, and the United States understands this because it has relations with the Soviet Union and East Europe.

2. We are a nonaligned country and we build our relations within the framework of respect for international law and for the UN Charter. Some accuse Egypt of being aligned with the United States. This is wrong, because we are totally independent in any decision we make. But to establish advanced relations in armaments, training and economic aid is our right.

3. To establish a balance in our relations with the two superpowers, we must make these two powers respect the Arab nation as a nation with a political and economic strategy and as an undivided nation. If the Arab nation restores a reasonable degree of strong and balanced relations and if it renounces [inter-Arab] conflicts, this would constitute a means for regaining this respect. As Arabs, we must understand the method of conflict between the two superpowers and their relations with each other and must avoid allowing ourselves to be toys in the hands of either superpower.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, chairman of opposition Groupings [NPUG] Party:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. The situation in the Arab area requires a kind of an Egyptian-Arab relationship with which to overcome existing circumstances. The issue was the issue of the Camp David agreement and of the Arab states' decision to boycott Egypt. After al-Sadat, Egypt said: Let whoever wants to come, do so. This is not a policy, and I do not approve of this logic. The Arab countries also think that for Egypt to return to them, it must abrogate the Camp David treaty. This also will not happen. So the issue is this: If there are in the Arab world those who believe that they need Egypt and that Egypt needs the Arab world, then commitment by Egypt and the Arab world to a unified position in the face of the dangers, is the solution. The question raised is: Is Egypt serious about standing with the other Arab countries in the face of the Zionist threat or has the Zionist threat ended? There are some who believe that the danger of the Iraq-Iran war is the real danger facing the Arab nation. But our party believes that the fundamental issue facing the Arab nation is the issue of Zionist expansion and of the imposition of a U.S.-Zionist policy on the area. This policy, in my opinion, poses a threat primarily to Egypt. I believe that if the Arab world confronts the situation with the will to adopt an Arab policy committed to meet any threat of Israeli expansion and if Egypt agrees to participate in this position, then the situation will make a practical turn for the better. There are dangers facing and threatening the Arab world and these dangers can constitute a logical means for the resumption of relations in a new form. There is the Arab world's reliance on the outside world for food. This weakens the Arab world's determination. Oil prices are declining and the food gap between the Arab world and the outside world is widening. This problem has not been tackled realistically.

2. I cannot determine where the failure comes from, Egypt or the Arabs. I don't know the details. I only know that contacts are under way with most of the Arab countries. But still, the question remains: What is required now? Resumption of normal relations? If we wait for a resolution abolishing the resolution to sever the relations with Egypt, then we will have to wait a long time. The matter must be tackled realistically and practically.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. The Palestinians are waging a fateful struggle that is different from the struggles waged by all other Arab countries at the time of their liberation. The different nature of the Palestinian people's struggle requires that aid in all its financial, political and moral forms be advanced. If Egypt is in no condition to advance material aid, then it should offer political and moral aid with no reservations. As for what the Palestinians should offer Egypt, I believe that the Palestinians are the gate to the Arab world. I don't believe they can offer more than this.

2. The issue of the time element is something that has been reiterated repeatedly in the recent period and is something to which I do not subscribe. If we continue to say that time is not in favor of the Palestinian cause, then I believe that this will provide the other side with a justification for wasting more time. It is inconceivable to ask the PLO to recognize Israel. The statement that Egypt has been able to regain the Sinai through negotiation is also an exaggeration because the Sinai, in the opinion of many people, was not the subject of bargaining. Using the Sinai as an example of what negotiations can produce is an exaggeration. The self-rule negotiations have been going on for more than 4 years and where do we stand now? Any negotiation must be backed by strength. If there is no strength, then on what basis is the negotiation to be done?

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. There certainly is a need to restore relations with the Soviet Union at this phase, for many reasons: Militarily, we still possess a large quantity of Soviet weapons that need spare parts. Economically, the establishment of relations with the Eastern bloc countries produces a better yield for us than for those countries, on the admission of the Egyptian capitalists themselves, because these relations provide the opportunity for the broader marketing of Egyptian goods. Politically, Egypt, as a nonaligned country, must establish balanced relations with the two superpowers. I see no reason for the continued break in relations with the Soviet Union.

2. I believe that Egypt's relations with the United States are not at the reasonable level of relations between a developing country and a major power. I believe that one of the reasons for this relationship is Egypt's reliance to a large degree on the United States for its food. Should this reliance diminish, Egypt's independence would be greater because this major reliance on the United States causes Egypt to follow certain policies for certain purposes. Therefore, the independence of Egyptian policy and of Egyptian decisions depends fundamentally on our ability to produce the food we need.

3. I see no conflict between establishing a balance in our relationship with the two superpowers and performing our role within the nonaligned movement. Rather, the establishment of a balanced relationship with the superpowers is the fundamental guarantee for Egypt to perform its role as a pioneer in the nonaligned group of countries.

Prominent writer Mustafa Amin:

Relations With Arabs:

1. It is my opinion that the relationship between the Egyptian people and the Arab people is a firm one because it is the first of thousands of years. As for the disagreements between Arab governments and the Egyptian government, I believe that the reason for these disagreements is the nationalization of the press. If a paper in Qatar, for example, attacks Libya's ruler, the Libyan Government considers the writer the ruler of Qatar. So Libya's parliament and Libya's ruler meet and declare war on Qatar. But if the paper were free and if a journalist wrote an article against any ruler, then the article would reflect the writer's opinion, as is the case in the United States and France.

2. I recall that after he assumed power, President Mubarak met with the editors and asked that no Egyptian newspaper attack any Arab country. One of the chief editors asked the president: What should the reply be if one of the Arab countries attacks us? Husni Mubarak answered: We don't reply. Another chief editor asked the president: If an Arab paper insults you, shouldn't we reply? President Mubarak answered: No. In my opinion, this was the first step. They always say in the Arab papers they want to know who takes the first step. We have taken the first step and our history is what dictated to us that we take the first step. Dignity is not an issue among brothers.

Relationship With Palestinians:

1. It is my opinion that Egypt has done a great deal for the Palestinians. If there is disagreement, it is disagreement among the leaders. We should not attack the Palestinians because the PLO has said something against the government and the Palestinians should not get angry at the Egyptian people because the Egyptian Government has done something against the Palestinians. This is because our relationship with the Palestinians is a fateful relationship and we must support them. When we support them, we want nothing from them because we believe that to support any Arab country is to support Egypt.

2. It is my opinion that the Palestinian issue has made considerable gains recently. But, as usual, we lose what we gain. We have something called political excessiveness or political pomp. We spend all we have gained and then borrow on top of that. We are now in the phase of borrowing. We are now pawning what we have gained and are borrowing.



#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. Yes, there is a need to restore relations with the Soviet Union because as in 'Abd-al-Nasir's era I was against throwing ourselves into the arms of the Soviet Union alone, so am I now against our throwing ourselves into the arms of the United States alone. We live under circumstances that require good relations with all countries of the world, led by the two superpowers.
2. We don't want any country to interfere in our domestic affairs and we don't want the U.S. ambassador or the Soviet ambassador to come and ask that a certain individual be appointed chief editor or minister, as once happened.
3. Egypt can establish a balance in its relations with the two superpowers and can maintain its role in the nonaligned movement by safeguarding its independence and by expressing its opinion on every issue.

Prominent writer Ahmad Baha'-al-Din:

#### Relationship With Arabs:

1. I hope that the meetings that took place at the New Delhi summit will be a starting point toward better relations between the disputing parties, and I don't mean just between Egypt and the Arab countries, because the disputing Arab parties are numerous. However, I believe that the New Delhi meetings are less than I had expected.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. I believe that the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union is an axiomatic necessity because in the entire world there are probably only four or five countries whose relations with one of the two superpowers are severed. All countries of the world, from the biggest to the smallest and regardless of their political opinions or strategic positions, have relations with both the United States and the Soviet Union. The Eastern bloc countries have relations with the United States and the Latin American countries, considered a U.S. sphere of influence, have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The countries that have no relations with Russia or with the United States can be counted on the fingers of one hand because this is an abnormal situation.
2. Establishing a balance in our relations with the two superpowers and performing our role within the framework of the nonaligned movement are quite simple matters. In all its actions, the state is supposed to proceed on the basis of what it perceives to be its national interest. This national interest brings us at times closer to one of the two superpowers and moves us at other times farther from the same power and vice versa, without this involving the severance of relations with either. The only criterion is to proceed from the starting point of our national interest. Our national interest primarily requires relations with the largest number of countries and, consequently, with the two most important states in the world. This is

a situation acknowledged by other big powers. A country like China with its 1 billion people has felt that it must have relations with the United States without severing its relations with the Soviet Union, despite numerous problems. A balance does not mean that we divide our relations 50 percent with one superpower and 50 percent with the other superpower. The balance may at times consist of 30 percent and 70 percent or 40 percent and 60 percent with this or that side. But the balancing point is the national interest. The example we have before us is India, because the situation of each country is different. India, by virtue of its close proximity to the Soviet Union and by virtue of the fact that its biggest problem and apprehension is China, has to maintain a more than usually strong relationship with the Soviet Union for purely Indian reasons that have nothing to do with doctrinal or ideological motives. Strategically, geographically and economically, the position of a Latin American country, for example, cannot be compared with India's position. The issues of a Latin American country are closer to the United States. This is the criterion. Yet, India has relations with the Soviet Union and we notice that Indira Gandhi is trying to improve these relations. So the issue is one of letting the national interest be the compass.

Novelist Najib Mahfuz:

Relations With Arabs:

1. I believe that Egypt's relations with the Arabs are improving and on their way back to normal. The entire issue requires a more realistic assessment from the Arabs. There is no reason at present for feuding. As for those who make it conditional that Camp David be abrogated, naturally it is improper to build relations with Egypt on this condition. However, I see that numerous Arab countries have begun to deal with Egypt despite Camp David.

2. I don't believe that Egypt has failed. The reason for the failure is that some Arab countries are rhetorically radical but indicate no practical solution and do nothing.

Relationship With Palestinians:

1. What Egypt can offer the Palestinians it has already offered. In the light of Camp David, Egypt could do nothing but engage in diplomatic activity, and it has done so perfectly. What is required of the Palestinians now is that they make a decision. They have made a decision but this decision must be translated into practical measures. If they have begun to believe that negotiations are the solution, then they should start them and carry out all the steps leading to negotiations so that the problem will not continue to hang in the air. Time is running out and it is not in favor of the Arabs.

2. If the Palestinians take the opportunity and embark on negotiations, then time could turn in favor of the cause.

Relations With United States and Russia:

1. In principle, there is no need to sever relations with a superpower considered the number two power in the world, especially since the relationship with the Soviet Union does not impose an ideology or anything else on us. Our relations with the Soviet Union should be as normal as our relations with any other country.

2. Insofar as our relations with the United States are concerned, I believe that under circumstances such as ours and considering that the officials became convinced that the solution, regardless of how much of it, is in the hands of the United States and that we depend on the United States for our development--then the friendly relations have their justification.

3. In my opinion, the role of the nonaligned countries is shaky. Most of the countries that met and declared nonalignment are aligned with either the East or the West, and this is natural. Therefore, it is my personal opinion that we should have good relations with all countries and that we should align ourselves with those with whom it is in our interest to be aligned.

Writer Dr Yusuf Idris:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. I had expected more meetings by President Husni Mubarak in New Delhi. I see absolutely nothing to prevent Saudi Arabia from meeting with Egypt or Iraq, Yemen or Algeria from meeting with Egypt. The obstacles preventing these countries from meeting with Egypt have disappeared because the obstacles were not Camp David. If the condition for Egypt's return to the Arab homeland is the abrogation of Camp David, then this means entering into war directly with Israel, because should Camp David be abrogate, Israel will hit Egypt immediately. It is impossible for Egypt to abrogate Camp David unless it is prepared to enter into war with Israel. Is Egypt in such a position? The Arabs are supposed to unite to overcome the conditions that produced Camp David and that will produce another Camp David in Lebanon and in other countries. The Arab relations are supposed to return not only to what they were but stronger than they were.

2. It is my opinion that Egypt is not the cause of the failure but that the cause is the conditions stipulated by some Arabs, including desertion of Camp David, when they know that this is impossible. There is a very major failure on the part of the Arabs.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. I have an objection to the statement issued by the Palestinian National Council, and it is an objection in the interest of the Palestinian Council. Enough of the organization's [PLO's] intervention in issues that concern each Arab people and country alone. This is not your business. As nobody intereferes in forming the Palestinian National Council, you should not interefere [in others' affairs]. You should do what the Algerian revolution did and have relations with all Arab countries while preserving your own independence and refraining from intervention in the domestic affairs of any Arab country. It is not the Palestinian National Council's business to determine who are the democratic and who the undemocratic forces. The Egyptian people are the ones to make this determination. It is my opinion

that Mubarak's government is a major part of the national and democratic force in Egypt and that any words to the contrary are words that ignore reality. Mubarak's position toward Lebanon and the cause is a true national democratic position. He has not peddled the cause and has not betrayed it. We are now in a new era that must be examined carefully and the Egyptians' feelings in this regard must be taken into consideration.

2. The cause of peoples is not a matter of time. The Jews have been able to revive a fabricated issue that died 3,000 years ago. The issue is not one of hours or of days and I do not approve of using the threat of the time factor to rush into accepting anything. If time is all that will save us, then there will be no salvation. What saves us is our strength. Instead of talking about time insofar as the Palestinian issue is concerned, we must talk of strength. The current situation in the Arab world, and by virtue of the Arab strength, deserves no more than Camp David. For the Arabs to deserve more than Camp David, they have to become strong. What is important here is not speeding up the solution, because the situation is weak, but speeding up the cementing of Arab strength so that a fait accompli can be imposed.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. It is necessary to restore relations with the Soviet Union and to solidify Egypt's position in the nonaligned movement. Let Egypt have special relations with the United States, but it must be a nonaligned condition. This is why I am against involving Egypt in any U.S. strategy.

2. Even the relationship between Egypt and the United States is not a healthy relationship. If we are to rely fully on the United States for weapons, for wheat and for technology, then the relationship is certainly not a healthy one. It is my opinion that a healthy relationship between a Third World country and the superpowers is the relationship between India on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the United States on the other, because India produces its own wheat and does not depend on the United States for its food. India also possesses a modest technology, makes use of all Western technology and obtains weapons from the Soviet Union.

3. A balance in the relationship with the two superpowers is achieved primarily by reconsidering Egypt's current and future strategy. Are we going to continue as we are, taking \$2 billion from the United States and using it to buy food or is it possible to change this situation by resorting to the nonaligned camp and establishing economic relations with it? This requires strengthening our Arab relations economically and establishing a kind of an Arab common market to bolster our economic independence. Therefore, if we regain the Arab strength, with Egypt as part of this strength, then we can diversify the sources of weapons at the level of all the Arabs.

Shaykh Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Najjar, director of training and proselytization [al-da'wah] at the Ministry of Religion Trusts:

#### Relations With Arabs:

My expectations for Arab relations stem from the fact that Egypt is the mother and there must come a day when the mother returns to her children and the children rally behind their mother. What remains is for the proper time to come for the return of the [common] Arab line. President Mubarak's meetings in New Delhi herald much good. I say truly that President Mubarak fully believes in Arab unity and that Egypt alone is one thing and Egypt and the Arabs [together] are something else. One hand cannot applaud.

2. I believe that all of President Mubarak's statements open Egypt's arms, Egypt's heart, to the Arabs. When we sit with the Arabs and delve deep into their hearts, we find them concerned for Egypt and for the return of the Arab line.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. As for what the Palestinians should offer Egypt, there must be first complete confidence that Egypt has not and will not squander a single grain of Palestine's soil. The Palestinians must also be confident that Egypt has entered these battles for the sake of Palestine and that it has sacrificed millions of martyrs and spent millions of pounds for Palestine. Therefore, Egypt must offer all its political weight to the Palestinians and must not at all despair because of the assault of some within the Palestinian ranks who are engaged in oneupmanship. This is our lot. Palestine is a part of our heart and the PLO is the legitimate spokesman [al-mu'abbir] of the Palestinians. I personally have full confidence in brother Yasir 'Arafat's leadership and he harbors for Egypt all appreciation and respect.

2. As long as there is movement, time is in favor of the Palestinian cause. But if the movement stops and if we start running around in circles and start voicing slogans without following our words with deeds, then the Palestinian cause will not make much headway.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. Why shouldn't relations with the Soviet Union be restored? We want to have good relations with all as long as such relations are based on mutual respect and nonintervention in our affairs.

2. I am a man who is far from politics and who does not know what lies between the political lines. However, I am an advocate of opening the heart to all. All people are brothers in humanity and I only antagonize those who antagonize me.

3. Cooperation should be divided between the two superpowers. We should cooperate with them and take and give to each of them without favoring one over the other. As for our loyalty and affiliation, they should belong to the nonaligned countries. We are one of the founders of the nonaligned bloc and we should never abandon it.

Shaykh Dr Muhammad Su'ad Jalal:

1. I believe that the ties between Egypt and the Arabs are completely organic and indivisible because Egypt is also bound to the Arabs by inseparable ties, the most significant being Islam. This strong and effective bond links the Egyptians with the Arabs through their hearts, conscience, doctrine and unity of faith in God, of action in accordance with the Koran and of turning to the same Mecca for all prayers. Then come their common interest and historical ties. Whoever antagonizes the Arabs antagonizes Egypt and vice versa. If there is disagreement between the Arabs and Egypt, it is an abnormal disagreement alien to the nature of the relations between them and its source is always the foreign plots to sow sedition between the Arabs and Egypt. These plots are actually what creates differences, in the interest of their enemies. In my capacity as a Muslim ulema who does not forget his Islamic responsibilities, I advise, in the name of Islam and of the Koran, all the Arabs under the current critical circumstances engulfing them to eliminate their differences, to unite their ranks and to turn into a single nation exerting serious and sincere efforts to defend its soil. God has said: "All of you hold unto God's rope and do not scatter and remember God's blessing to you when you were enemies and He brought harmony into your hearts and, with His blessing, turned you into brothers."

2. Since assuming power, President Mubarak has worked sincerely to eliminate the differences between the Arabs and Egypt and has followed this straight path. Insofar as we know, he has not allowed any initiative that would lead to or intensify disagreement. We speak on this point on the basis of what knowledge we have, from what is evident in the pages of the newspapers we read and from the broadcasts we hear.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. I believe that it is not in our interest to feud with the Soviet Union or with any country. Our position as a nation that believes in peace, wants to safeguard its interests and wants to stand with the nonaligned countries dictates that we establish good relations with all countries of the world, particularly with the Soviet Union. To begin with, we will reap no benefit from feuding with the Soviet Union or with other countries.

2. I believe that the procrastination in solving the Palestinian problem and the Lebanese problem which has emerged on the heels of the Palestinian problem does not encourage us to say that the United States is exerting serious efforts to solve these two problems. We and the entire world know that the solution to these two problems is in the hands of the United States. Therefore, we do not support the statement that the United States is offering the Arabs and Egypt serious services.

3. As for establishing a balanced relationship between us on the one side and the Soviet Union and the United States on the other side, I believe that this can be summed up in two points: First, we must view our national interests from all their aspects. Whoever helps us achieve these interests without undermining our rights or interfering in our affairs is worthier of our support and whoever avoids this course in dealing with us should not be

supported. Second, if each of the two superpowers takes a just and moderate position toward us and if it does not interfere in our domestic affairs, then we should not reject the friendship of either.

As for Egypt's role in the nonaligned movement, the role sought primarily through the creation of this movement is to achieve peace and justice in the world and to prevent as much as possible wars and conflicts. We believe that Egypt is performing this role seriously and at a very high level of capability and good will.

Makram Muhammad Ahmad, chief editor of AL-MUSAWWAR Magazine:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. President Mubarak's meetings in New Delhi had nothing to do with restoring Arab relations. Some of the meetings took place accidentally and some had been previously planned, such as Mubarak's meeting with King Husayn. Yet others took place because the Camp David psychological barrier had somewhat disappeared, as in the case of Mubarak's meeting with the ruler of Kuwait. I believe that Egypt has offered in this respect all it can offer and that it must stop at this point. Ultimately, what prevents restoration of the relations? Nothing other than the Arabs themselves. Some use the pretext of the presence of the unanimous resolution and others use other pretexts. But I believe that the Arabs are waiting for something to restore their relations with Egypt.

2. Since the start of his administration, Mubarak has followed a very rational policy vis-a-vis the Arab world, whether at the time of the propaganda campaign or in his eagerness for dialogue. The truth is that I did not imagine that he had such extreme patience. Practically, Mubarak has taken a number of steps, such as visiting Saudi Arabia and terminating the League of Peoples and the Egyptian-Palestinian dialogue. I believe that the issue has serious dimensions, the main one being that there is perhaps a party that believes that Egypt's return will block the path in its face or will deny it a certain place in the Arab world. There may perhaps be parties that are awaiting the go-ahead signal from a third party. The Arabs are wrong if they imagine that Egypt's return to Arab relations while it is saddled with problems means that Egypt will be a burden to Arab relations.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. The Palestinians must understand three fundamental things, namely, that their task insofar as the Palestinian cause is concerned is to gain [support], beginning with the president and ending with the janitor. The Palestinians in Amman imagined that they could be a party to the domestic game and that there were forces supporting them and others not supporting them. We saw how the Amman situation ended in 1970. The same thing has happened in Lebanon. There, they imagined that they could utilize society's division into national forces and (unpatriotic) forces. Egypt is totally different from this. Egypt is not Amman and not Beirut and the Palestinians must not imagine that the internal front will split over them. The fact is, if we want the truth,

that the Egyptians feel very angry when they think that they have offered 1 trillion pounds and thousands of lives for the Palestinian cause and find that they are the guilty party and the party that is always attacked and criticized. I still believe that Egypt must contain the problem that has developed between itself and the PLO and that the PLO must contain the problem that has developed between itself and Egypt. The PLO must unite the Arab world in the broadest front possible, not splinter the Arab world. If the return to Palestine is through all the Arab capitals--and one of the parties to the PLO is demanding nowadays a fundamental change in the Arab capitals--then I believe that the Palestinians will need 1,000 years and more before they can return. I don't know if after 1,000 years there will be something called the Palestinian cause, the West Bank, Gaza or not.

I believe that this concept is perfectly understood by the moderate wing in the PLO. I am not talking about all of the Palestinians. But on the other hand, Egypt must not go too far in its anger so that it can preserve this moderate current, because we should not forget the enormous difficulties within the Palestinian democracy which, ultimately, comprises armed groups. Consequently, if the PLO seeks to contain the problem and so does Egypt, then I believe that this would be more beneficial to the Palestinians than to Egypt. It is true that Egyptian-Palestinian relations are an Egyptian interest, but before being an Egyptian interest, they are basically a Palestinian interest. Egypt also cannot ask the Palestinians to approve Camp David, and it hasn't actually asked them to do so, because Camp David itself says the Palestinians have a veto right.

2. If we are to talk like poets in a world of fantasy, then I will say that time is in our favor because time is necessarily in favor of the oppressed and because the sun must shine one day. But if we talk realistically, time is not in our favor because we have not yet seen any indication of the start of an Arab age of enlightenment. We have not seen any actual indication of a comprehensive understanding of the difficulty of the future Arab fates. I wonder: What has happened anywhere in the Arab world from 1973 to the present? What has happened in Kuwait's al-Manakh market? I wonder why terror is growing in some societies and why the relations between the regimes and the masses are drifting further apart? We find that time is not in favor of the Arabs. Not only this, but the pan-Arab [qawmi] feeling is getting weaker. The revolution has ended. This is why I say that time is not in favor of the Arabs. If we believe the words of poets, which are also true, then the sun will shine one day. When will this day come? Those who sit in the waiting room cannot hurry history, cannot make it and cannot take part in making it.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. It is certain that there is a need to restore relations with the Soviet Union because ultimately Egypt calls itself a nonaligned country. If it calls itself a nonaligned country, then it should restore its relationship with the Soviet Union and this relationship should overcome the previous bitterness.



2. I have no observations on Egyptian-U.S. relations. So far, they are special relations and the criterion of this special relationship lies in one fact: Can we say that Egyptian policy reflects complete concordance with U.S. policy? I say definitely not, for many reasons. The Americans exerted fearful pressure on Mubarak to let Egypt take in 10,000 Palestinian fighters but Egypt decided that this was not in its interest or in the interest of the Palestinian cause and the disagreement was complete. The Sixth Fleet moved and Egypt refused to have anything to do with this movement. There is also Egypt's participation in the nonaligned conference and the Egyptian determination to diversify [its sources of] weapons. Consequently, those who imagine that the relationship between Egypt and the United States is a relationship of subservience undermine Egypt's status and disagree with reality. The lesson has been the same insofar as the Soviets and the Americans are concerned, namely, that it is impossible to put all our eggs in one basket.

3. Relations must be based on equal and mutual interests. Policy must serve internal conditions and the economy, otherwise policy has no meaning at all. Egypt can achieve a balance in its relations with the two superpowers by acting as a bridge for dialogue and as part of an instrument to ease the cold war. President Reagan is trying to intensify the confrontation as the election nears and Soviet leader Andropov represents the Soviet military establishment and it is in his interest to escalate the confrontation in order to hide enormous economic problems. They are two sides exaggerating their military strength in order to increase the allocations of arms. Where will the meeting of this troubled relationship between the two giants be in the coming period? Will it be Europe? No. It will be in the Third World, the oil countries and the poor countries. It will be expansion in Afghanistan, in the Iraq-Iran war and in the Sahara war. I believe that it is not in our interest at all to be an instrument and Egypt will not be an instrument in the hands of either of the two superpowers. Egypt's interest lies in its return to its active role in nonalignment so that it can create a bridge of dialogue between the two superpowers.

Salah Jalal, Lawyers Union chairman:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. In the wake of the New Delhi summit, popular Arab relations will be strengthened. I am not optimistic regarding Arab political relations, meaning the exchange of ambassadors. It is a process that involves procedural formalities and Camp David. But the actual Arab relations between the peoples, with all their groups--journalists, students, businessmen, will be strengthened, regardless of Egypt's involvement with Camp David. Popular relations are more lasting and important. I am optimistic regarding the popular relations but there must be movement by both sides.

2. The failure in the relations between Egypt and the Arabs is a failure on the part of the Arabs. Egypt is the biggest Arab country and has the biggest actual Arab capabilities. The brother Arabs--and I am addressing this to the popular bases and mass organizations--must feel that Egypt is wounded by the estrangement, that Egypt is the eldest and that it is

burdened with problems. If visits have to be exchanged, then they should be the ones to come, especially since they are more capable financially. The Arabs must move a step forward, as we have done. Our hand continues to be extended. Perhaps in the air, but it continues to be extended. When I, as an older brother, extend my hand to my younger brother and he fails to do so, then there is a limit to what my patience, my dignity and my self-esteem can take.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. I am not convinced that there is something that Egypt must offer the Palestinians or that the Palestinians must offer Egypt. Our cause is the same. If there is a misunderstanding, then we hope that it will not be exploited by the opportunists on both sides. A mistake has been made by some of the Palestinian leaders. The Palestinian Council's statement has been wounding to the Egyptian people and to the Egyptian Government, and we all acknowledge that this government has a different tendency under President Mubarak's administration. This tendency must be encouraged and not blocked. If the Palestinian brothers' circumstances--which we fully appreciate--are difficult and if they are trying to establish balances, then this should not be at the expense of the Egyptian people or the Egyptian Government. We ask them for nothing more than to know that Egypt is always Egypt and not to give anybody the opportunity to widen the rift because such widening is not in the interest of Egypt or of Palestine. The Palestinians have made a mistake and the best sinners are those who repent.

2. Time is not in favor of the backward, be it the Palestinian cause or any other liberation cause, no matter whether the backward is militarily or materially backward. Time is not in favor of the weak because the strong do not permit the weak to gain strength.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. Relations with the Soviet Union must be restored so that we can be a balanced country. If there are relations between the United States itself and the Soviet Union, then the absence of relations between us and the Soviet Union is abnormal. We do not deny that the Soviet Union is a superpower and that we have interests with it. Let us be realistic and make the dimensions of our relationship with the Soviets compatible with our interests. We should not exaggerate and say that the Soviet Union has done nothing for Egypt. The relationship with the Soviet Union is a bargaining card so that we are not at the mercy of anybody and that there will be a balance. True nonalignment comes with normal relations with the Soviet Union.

2. I am not pleased with our relationship with the United States because it is evident from this relationship that we are subservient to it economically and that we want it to give constantly. They are somewhat arrogant and haughty [because] they give us wheat and food. We should have our dignity [and make them know that] in return for this, Egypt is not a stronghold of communism, and this is something that saves them a lot of money. They also benefit from their relationship with us.

3. The balance in our relations with the two superpowers begins with the restoration of relations with the Soviet Union. What achieves true balance is Egypt's strength. Both the Soviets and the Americans will respect us if we are strong, meaning that if we have democracy and a sound system of government and if we punish corruption properly. If the system of government is stable, if the state is being built and if the 5-year plan is moving ahead and if we increase our production so that we do not depend on the outside world for 70 percent of our food--this is an important point, considering that India, for example, has a population of 700 million and is self-sufficient in food--if we increase our production, then this will give us our weight because our hand will no longer be extended for help all the time. There is a difference between extending our hand 50 days a year and extending it 366 days a year.

Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad, chief editor of AL-AHALI:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. I believe that Egypt missed the boat at the New Delhi summit and that it could have done more than it did. The nonaligned world is not in its best condition and many of the nonaligned countries are aimless for numerous reasons on which we need not dwell. But when Yasir 'Arafat came in this atmosphere, he was a symbol for something. At least one of the leaders of this movement stood fast and had a position. He was a star in which all saw aspirations that they could not achieve. It is unreasonable for Egypt to go to this conference while feuding with the man representing this star. Of course, the nonaligned countries welcome Egypt's current inclination and its wish to reaffirm its affiliation with nonalignment. But the issue has not assumed all of its dimensions. [The issue is] this feud that erupted with the PLO in the wake of the Palestinian National Council's statement, regardless of the justifications. I may admit that some of Egypt's justifications are correct. But this is not the problem. Policy means that we should avoid falling into traps and that if we have an opportunity to leap many steps forward, then we should not waste this opportunity because of small things on the path that prevent us from seeing the larger picture.

2. Egypt's return to the Arabs is not an easy move because it is governed by numerous considerations. It is true that many Arab regimes are now turning toward the West and it is true that Egypt preceded them all in turning to Israel, the United States and the West. What Egypt is now experiencing is perhaps the disappointment in what had been expected to be achieved. Before the invasion of Lebanon, Egypt may have believed that the logic of peace had triumphed with the restoration of the Sinai and that Israel's attempts at expansion had been neutralized. But the Lebanese war has proven the opposite. The ongoing problem is that Egypt cannot define for itself a clear political identity, keeping in mind that Egypt is the center of the area and that it has been proven that it is difficult to have a constant Arab strategy without Egypt. So the issue is: How can Egypt regain its ability to perform its role? This issue is still pending, keeping in mind that it is a complex issue. To what extent will Egypt's return to the Arabs be a correction of affairs or an adaptation to the Arabs' course and a continuation of the previous course? This is not a clear problem.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. The greatest service that Egypt can render the Palestinians is to rescue them from the shackles of the Camp David treaty. What is important is the content, regardless of the procedural and outward aspect. What the Palestinians can offer is to help Egypt regain the Arab hearts. This will not be achieved with the restoration of relations with the Arab regimes. The relationship with the PLO is what will lead the Egyptian regime to the Arab hearts because the Palestinian issue is the symbol of the pan-Arab cause and it is the burning issue occupying the front of the stage. There can be no solution to the other issues without a solution of the Palestinian issue. The Palestinian issue has become more complex since Camp David.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. There is a need to restore relations with the Soviet Union. Egypt cannot be a nonaligned country while having a special relationship with the United States and not exchanging ambassadors with the Soviet Union.
2. The Egyptian-U.S. relations are a catastrophe.
3. In today's world, unless there are equal relations with the two sides, Egypt will be a part of the U.S. strategic scheme.

#### Hijazi, cartoonist at SABAH AL-KHAYR Magazine:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. Egypt's return to the Arabs is no problem because there are always relations between the Arab peoples. The problem is how to confront Israel.
2. There are Arab countries that have declared that they are against Camp David whereas they are not really against Camp David as a policy. What al-Sadat did had its gaps. Some of the Arab countries also have their gaps. What unites the Arabs or drives them apart is the issue of Israel. As for ideological differences, they do not exist because there isn't an extremely progressive Arab state or an extremely reactionary one.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. Egypt has offered the Palestinians a lot. But the Palestinians believe that Camp David has harmed them. This is a problem that will not end unless the issue moves in some way. As for what the Palestinians should offer, they are not a state to offer anything. They emerge from the sea of Arab differences and Arab disability. So it is impossible to ask them to act with the wisdom of states because they are a displaced people and many things are against them at the international and Arab levels. They are not required to act with the wisdom and the self-control of a state on its own land.
2. Time is completely against the Palestinian issue because the U.S. scheme for the area is to drive all international parties away from the issue and to

deal with it exclusively. This is what is actually happening. The United States has (taken sole control of solving) the problem so that it may not solve it, so that Israel may continue to Judaize Arab territories and so that the scheme may proceed exactly as planned.

#### Relations with United States and Russia:

1. Relations with the Soviet Union must be restored, of course. There must be a balance in the relationship with the two superpowers.
2. The U.S. relationship with most of the developing countries is that of "arm twisting" and of (threats) with wheat and the military. Our relationship with the United States is not balanced.
3. What happened in Egypt recently is a sort of American brainwashing and American education of the Egyptian people, beginning with films and ending with dazzlement with the U.S. model. Partiality toward the United States has developed in the Egyptian psyche. Many of the people in power are aligned with the United States and so are many ordinary people. A balance in the policy can be effected from above. As for the people, the United States has fully penetrated the area. A balance can be established in major political decisions. But the problem is the people and the need to reeducate them.

#### Actress Nadiya Lutfi:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. I don't believe that there is real estrangement, if what is meant are actual relations. But if what is intended are diplomatic realtions, I cannot guess when they will be reinstated. However, I hope that they will be restored soon. Egypt is in the veins and blood of every Arab and it cannot be isolated from the Arabs. This is what I felt among the ordinary men in the street and among officals during my recent visits.
2. The mistakes are mutual and they have their history and circumstances. Each side has its justifications and its censure for the other side. But I believe too much has been said about the past and that what is required now is to stop and overcome all this for the sake of the common Arab interest. We are in a serious situation and danger completely engulfs the area. Moreover, any danger threatening any part of the area is a danger that poses a threat to the entire area. Time is passing and we will hardly overcome what is now going on before we arrive at what is more serious and far-reaching. This is the role of the Arab officials and rulers.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. The Palestinian issue is an Egyptian issue, fundamentally. Anything that Egypt fails to offer at present constitutes a loss in the future and anything it offers the Palestinians now is an asset for it in the future. As for the

Palestinians, they have offered everything, not only to Egypt but also to every Arab. Regarding the statement that they interfere in Egypt's domestic affairs, it is a statement that urges us to ask: Do the Palestinians have the ability to interfere in Egypt? It is conceivable that the Palestinians will harm Egypt? When I was in Beirut, I felt the extent of the love for Egypt in the heart of every Palestinian fighter and child.

2. On what basis are we asking the Palestinians to hurry? Aren't the West Bank and Gaza still under actual Israeli occupation? What will the cause gain from rushing and on what could there be negotiation at present as long as the organization [PLO] is rejected by Israel? There is insistence on continuing to refuse to recognize the Palestinians. When a reassuring basis for restoration of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights develops then it will be necessary to move fast. Without this, there is no place for demanding quick action.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. It is evident that Egyptian-U.S. relations have exceeded the limits, to the extent that we find that some lines have been erased. The danger in this is that it is not only the United States [that is involved] but rather the United States and Israel.

#### Actor Nur al-Sharif:

#### Relations With Arabs:

1. I was expecting, even before the New Delhi summit, that relations with the Arabs would inevitably be restored. Egypt's relationship with the Arabs is like the relationship between brothers and relatives who may disagree over something. But no matter how long the disagreement lasts, they will inevitably have to return to each other.

2. The fact is that both the Egyptians and the Arabs have helped to prolong the estrangement. It seems that we, as Arabs, have not understood the plots of the superpowers against the Arab nation. When we united for 5 days during the 1973 war, they stood in the West in lines for their gas and were very careful. When oil prices rose and it was proven that we have an influential power and that we would represent a mighty force if our unity continued, they began to exert efforts to prevent us from ever uniting again. We as Arabs, including Egypt, have let them sow sedition among us with complete ease. It is my opinion that future generations must learn a major lesson from this so that they do not commit the same mistake again and so that we do not disperse, no matter how strongly we disagree. Since President Mubarak assumed power, rapprochement with the Arabs has begun to develop. It is difficult to say that the failure comes from this or that side because we [don't] know all that happens in the political lobbies. There may appear to be a failure whereas the truth is quite different. For a long time we didn't know, for example, that we were sending weapons from Egypt to Iraq. I believe that we should not hold celebrations for the restoration of Arab relations but that the relations must be restored on a sound basis. As Arabs, we must abandon our tribal mentality. There is no need for fanaticism in politics. Rationality is necessary to achieve our interests.

#### Relationship With Palestinians:

1. Egypt must offer the Palestinians a great deal and I hope that no agreement will be an obstacle to relations between Egypt and the Palestinians. The wars we have waged were not for the sake of Egypt but clearly for the sake of the Arab nation, including Palestine. At the same time, if we abandon the Palestinian cause then this could constitute a serious indication that the Arabs, including Egypt, can cede a part of their land and their history to a tyrannical force. Meanwhile, some radical Palestinian elements must not follow fanatic political methods because problems are not solved by rhetoric. There are some radical Palestinian elements that view Egypt wrongly. The leaders of the other Palestinian organizations must draw the attention of these elements to the fact that the entire Arab issue, not just the Palestinian issue, cannot be solved without Egypt. They must realize that if Egypt takes a negative stance, as it did in the preceding period, toward the Palestinian issue, it will become impossible to solve the issue or move forward. The two sides must be alert to the attempt to sow sedition between them. The Palestinians must also realize that Palestine is theirs alone.

2. As far as time is concerned, the Crusades lasted 230 years and ultimately departed because it is difficult for a body to accept an alien body inside it. The Israelis may survive for a time but it is certain that matters will turn in our favor. However, we must avoid mistakes.

#### Relations With United States and Russia:

1. There is an urgent need for the restoration of relations with the Soviet Union in order to establish a balance. I am against twisting anybody's arm. I am, for example, against monopoly in the movies and against my being monopolized by a single producer for whom I work, solely because such a monopoly deprives me of the opportunity for a better role with another producer. It is wrong to confine my relationship to the Western bloc because this creates an imbalance. But when there are frank relations with all countries and when our interests are the number one concern, then there will be a balance.

2. The relationship between Egypt and the United States is not an ideal model. The United States should have demonstrated greater good will. What has the United States done for Egypt? Has it built for Egypt any factories, for example?

3. As long as we experience an economic crisis like the current one, it will be difficult to determine how to establish a balance. We will continue to be subservient in a part of our relations. The officials must be very careful with these relations. We must dispense with some luxuries until we are able to turn our society into a truly productive society, and then we can determine our relations from a position of strength.

[No 167, 23-29 Apr 83, pp 17-24]

[Text] We published in the previous edition the first part of the comprehensive poll conducted by AL-MAJALLAH in Egypt on President Mubarak's

administration and its relations with the Arabs, the Palestinians, the United States and Russia. AL-MAJALLAH has chosen 15 prominent Egyptian personalities representing various sectors and viewpoints and raised with them the main Egyptian issues for which the Arab reader wants answers. We now publish the second part of the poll, which deals with two main Egyptian issues: corruption and democracy.

AL-MAJALLAH presented the following questions to the Egyptian personalities it interviewed:

Corruption:

1. Is what has been done so far to confront corruption adequate?
2. How can corruption be confronted?
3. What are the real reasons for corruption?

Democracy:

1. Are there restrictions on democracy in Egypt?
2. What is needed to strengthen Egyptian democratic institutions?

Here are the answers to these questions:

Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, SLP secretary general:

Corruption:

1. What has been done so far is not a comprehensive and fundamental confrontation to wipe out corruption. What has happened so far is tantamount to trials involving individual cases, covering three persons who, along with their families, accumulated excessive wealth in illicit ways. But this is not to be seen as removing corruption by its roots.
2. Confronting corruption comes by bringing to account those proven to have accumulated fortunes in illicit ways and by bringing to account all those responsible for cases of deviation through legislation that prevents circumvention of the law, illegal profit and tax evasion. The SLP presented a bill to the People's Assembly to close these loopholes but the bill has not yet found its way to discussion in the People's Assembly.
3. The real reasons for corruption stem from the economic conditions and from the policies followed, which permit individuals with poor ethics to enrich themselves at the expense of the people. This is in addition to the absence of accountability, reflected in the abolition of the Administrative Control Authority, the destruction of its files and the call for permitting quick and limitless profit as long as taxes are paid. Meanwhile, these taxes pertaining to participation in the public burdens are not paid. Moreover, the open-door policy on the importation of luxuries, which induces the citizens to consume excessively, and the incompatibility of salary and wage levels in the government and the public sector are also likely to encourage people to seek illicit income.



## Democracy:

1. The main point of democracy is to enable the people to express their will regarding the people who run their affairs in free, neutral and honest elections, in addition to the presence of a free press and an independent judiciary. It is regrettable that no elections of such qualities have been held so that there might be a government loyal to the people and enjoying their confidence, considering that it is from their choice and a reflection of their will.

2. What is needed to strengthen Egyptian democratic institutions is:

First, that the country be restored to normalcy through abolition of the state of emergency, especially since security is stable and the state of emergency is not used unless 50 citizens are arrested at once, as the minister of interior has stated.

Second, that the constitution be reviewed by a constituent assembly elected freely so that all articles and provisions of the constitution can be made harmonious in the wake of the amendment abolishing the single political party system, namely, the Socialist Union, and establishing a system of government on a democratic basis founded on a multiplicity of parties. It is not enough to change one article in the constitution to establish this fundamental change while the rest of the constitution remains the same as it was under the totalitarian administration.

Third, that clean elections, in which the people's will is not forged and which are supervised by a committee consisting of judiciary elements that cannot be dismissed, be conducted.

Fourth, that all custodianship on the part of the government over the press be abolished and the national press be transformed into a true citizen-owned press by turning it into companies or cooperatives to which the people subscribe, with the Higher Consultative Council's ownership of this press and the Higher Press Council's control over it abolished. The journalists should not be accountable unless they exceed the limits of permissible criticism, and then only before the ordinary independent judiciary.

Muhammad Rashwan, minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs.

## Corruption:

1. There was a flaw during the period of implementation of the open-door economic policy. This is normal and understandable. But have we not established the controls that guarantee that such cases of corruption will not recur? If we examine the 5-year plan, we will find that it has dealt with this issue philosophically so that no project that does not serve the plan's objectives will be permitted. Moreover, as a government, we are the ones who brought the defendants in the cases of corruption, despite their prominence, to trial.

2. The 5-year plan has established controls to curtail corruption, so that whoever permits himself to deviate will encounter controls to prevent him from

doing so. Moreover, corruption is not as widespread as it is being portrayed in Egypt. Corruption is present in all countries of the world.

3. The reasons for corruption are that we went through the one-party and the closed-economy system and then moved to the open-door economy. Mistakes and a form of deficiency occur in all phases. We acknowledge this. But corruption is not a phenomenon unique to Egypt. It is a matter of individual cases that occurred as a result of the phases of development through which we have passed.

#### Democracy:

1. Now two people agree on the definition of democracy. Democracy is practiced in Egypt but this democracy is a part of society's fabric. There are those who want to transfer U.S. democracy to Egypt. Is this right? We in Egypt practice democracy by the extent compatible with the people's needs. There are those in the opposition press who call for ousting the government and the national press criticizes the government and then some people say that there is no democracy. Democracy does not consist of our establishing 50 parties and becoming "another Lebanon". It is enough to have the various political currents expressed. Throughout the world, there is right, left and center.

2. There is a number of principles on which society has agreed and which cannot be touched, such as our being a republic, independence of the judiciary, the public sector's role as a mainstay of the Egyptian economy and the presence of the private sector. Beyond these principles, any disagreement is acceptable within the bounds of democratic practice and not through instigation and sedition. To show the extent of the democracy under which we live, when I, as minister, was attacked by a partisan newspaper, I resorted to the ordinary judiciary to protect my rights and the paper was not shut down.

3. To strengthen democratic institutions in Egypt, it is necessary to have stable, ongoing policies. A major part of these policies falls on the shoulders of those working in the political and information fields and on the shoulders of intellectuals and clergymen. When we say that we are a democratic socialist country that establishes a balance between the individual and society, then these are slogans whose implementation requires effort. Moreover, democracy cannot be established under conditions of a hungry society. Give me the loaf of bread first and then let me think. Therefore, when I think of economic reform this strengthens democracy. Efforts for development and to increase incomes bolster democracy.

Khalid Muhyi al-Din, chairman of the opposition NPUG Party:

#### Corruption:

1. Everything that has been done to confront corruption so far is a step declaring the current government's intention to strike the hands of the corrupters by putting [in jail] the primary symbol of corruption, namely, the

brother of the late president, who was protected by the previous administration. But it is impossible to stop here. The trials that have taken place revealed deep flaws in the Egyptian political structure and economic and social systems. Unless these flaws are tackled with true modifications, corruption will continue to exist.

2. Confronting corruption comes through nationalizing certain activities because these activities constantly produce a form of corruption. For example, port activities were partly nationalized and maritime activities and services were partly nationalized. When these activities are restored to the private sector or when they are not controlled by the state, the door is open for the accumulation of enormous fortunes. There is an observation that draws attention, namely that the weakest sector of the Egyptian economy is the private production sector, be it agricultural or industrial, because in this sector, hard work for a long period is needed to amass a fortune. Unless the doors are closed in the face of those activities that result in the accumulation of vast fortunes, either through abolition of the activities or through state intervention, these doors will remain open to produce more corruption.

3. The real reasons for corruption lie in the fact that when the yield given to the citizen in return for his productive effort is not equal to the yield of a simple parasitic effort, then a flaw is created in the system of values. Productive work produces no fruit whereas carrying favors with the authorities or smuggling lead to quick profit! This leads to flawed values and, consequently, leads people to corruption, emigration or radicalism.

#### Democracy:

1. There are restrictions on democracy. The issue of democracy in Egypt is a protracted one and is connected with modifications in the economic system. If serious efforts are exerted to liquidate the parasitic influence, then there will be an opportunity for the growth of democracy because the archenemies of democracy are the parasites who monopolize wealth and usurp thought. They cannot live in a democratic atmosphere. The trends toward democracy in Egypt rise and fall. However, there are facts at present: There are no [political] detainees and the restrictions imposed on the movement of parties are less. But there is a restriction on the formation of new parties. There is no restriction on the partisan press. However, there is what I call the totalitarianism [shumuliyat] of the ruling party and its control of people's fate. This gives the party some sort of an enormous privilege. Besides, we are a part of the Third World and the state has a major role in the citizen's life. The people are in no position to oppose this party, especially since the president of the republic is the party chairman.

2. The competition between the parties is unequal. Consequently, conditions are unequal and unstable. But in relative terms, President Mubarak's administration is indisputably better than President al-Sadat's. However, we seek perfection because Egypt has large problems and democracy in Egypt is not a luxury. It is necessary that the people participate truly and seriously in problems and issues.

3. No democracy can become stable without the presence of a real majority party. If a real majority party existed, it would succeed deservedly without restoring to the state for support and without needing special measures or means of pressure because it would be a majority party competing at the popular level. This is the leading issue, which is followed by the other issues: Democratic stability and stability of the real majority party because, in such a case, it would be a strong party ruling through normal methods, considering that it would be confident that the people trust it.

Prominent writer Mustafa Amin:

#### Corruption:

1. What has been done so far to confront corruption is a "start." Corruption is widespread and requires time. I believe that corruption started on the day democracy disappeared because when dictatorship begins, the lights are turned off and darkness prevails. When darkness prevails, the thieves come out, confident and reassured that nobody will see them. Theft, robbery and safecracking become easy and everybody sees the other stealing and starts to steal like him. Censorship is established to prevent publication of the news of incidents of corruption because the press is the best means for enabling the people to see, fight and compel the government to fight corruption and because the corrupt are customarily the closest to the government. The opposition rarely steals because it is busy fighting and does not have the opportunity to steal state money. Usually, some of those close to the government are the ones who become corrupt. Consequently, when the lights are turned on and the windows opened, those who want to steal get scared because they will be discovered. The government also fears for its reputation and honesty becomes compulsory, not optional.

2. Confronting corruption comes through freedom. It is my opinion that had the press published reports of the first deal concluded by 'Isamat al-Sadat, his wealth would have not risen to 126 million pounds. 'Isamat al-Sadat did not accumulate this sum in a day.

#### Democracy:

1. Of course there are restrictions on democracy at present. The first restriction is the government's intervention in elections. The second is the fact that everything is done through referendums. We all know how a referendum is conducted or how it is forged. The third restriction is the absence of freedom of the press because [the existing freedom] is the freedom of the chief editors to strike out opposing opinions. It is my opinion that the national papers are government papers and are intended to be managed as the sewerage agency is managed. This is the reason for the explosions that occur at the papers, such as the explosion that occurred in the main sewer line in al-Jizah.

2. What is needed to strengthen democratic institutions is to have free elections and not have it said that elections will be by list. There are elections by list in Lebanon, for example, because Lebanon has Druze,

Maronites, Shi'ites and Armenians. This is why every segment of the population needs to be represented according to its size. But in Egypt, conditions are quite different.

Prominent writer Ahmad Baha'-al-Din:

#### Corruption:

1. What has been done so far to confront corruption is inadequate.
2. Any strong government, and by strength I mean reliance on the people's will, is capable of implementing laws to the letter and is capable of fighting corruption. I believe that this is the primary condition. The second condition is freedom of publication. At times, trying corruption before the public opinion--even without the need to issue sentences and so forth--is a major deterrent.
3. The real reasons of corruption lie in the 10 years during which what happened was very much like somebody taking apart a car engine without reassembling it. Many of the laws and regulations, which we call bureaucracy, were fragmented out of spite, although every country must have a bureaucratic system to which all are subject and which sets limits on corruption. Destruction of the bureaucracy is understandable if it is replaced by new laws and regulations that facilitate matters or eliminate the obstacles of bureaucracy. But destroying and flouting laws without promulgating new laws is what sank this country in corruption for 10 years without any deterrence. We are now facing the consequence of this accumulation.

#### Democracy:

1. Yes, there are fundamental restrictions on democracy in Egypt and these restrictions are due primarily to the special and unconstitutional laws that were promulgated through referendums, which any law student knows are unconstitutional.
2. Provisions play a fundamental role in strengthening democratic institutes by giving them their inherent [al-kaminah] rights, beginning with the People's Assembly, the local councils, the press and the universities and ending with the unions. Naturally, the promulgation of laws that allow these institutions to participate effectively is important in helping to build democracy. But experiences, not only in Egypt but throughout the world, have taught us that democracy cannot be strengthened except through the struggle of these institutions to cling to their rights. It is a process of practice primarily, [as we find] if we read the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the Soviet Union, for example.
3. I cite the example of these two countries because they are at opposite ends of the pole. We find that the [constitutional] provisions are similar in 90 percent of the cases whereas we know that there is an enormous difference between the two countries in implementation. The provisions are important because they define the rights and duties, but practice and adherence to rights is the essence.

Shaykh Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Najjar, director of training and advocacy at the Ministry of Religious Trusts:

Corruption:

1. Revealing and exposing some instances of corruption to the masses in this manner is a good thing. I believe at least that the bell warns anybody who is thinking of engaging in acts of corruption to think a thousand times before he does so. As for the past, the judiciary will expose it. How many hidden and secret things has the judiciary exposed--things that the people did not imagine could happen because many of the corrupters are extraordinarily intelligent and can steal and plunder while appearing as upright people. They can steal and then walk in the funeral procession, weeping for the dear departed one!

2. Corruption can be exposed by revealing it. When it is revealed it becomes exposed, and when corruption is exposed it is stopped.

3. The real reasons for corruption are perhaps the fact that this is a phenomenon that surfaces among all peoples in the wake of wars and of the suffering that wars produce. Some exploit this suffering as an opportunity for illicit aggrandizement while the others look at them resentfully without being able to confront them.

Democracy:

1. I believe that we live in an atmosphere under which democracy is realized by 90 percent, as evidenced by the fact that we read the opposition's opinion expressed very frankly in its papers. The recent trial (of 'Isamat al-Sadat) and the publication of the investigations is an indication of this democratic atmosphere.

2. What is required to strengthen democratic institutions in Egypt is primarily that the general atmosphere be a democratic atmosphere in which man is safe to state his opinion frankly without being detained, without fear of the government and without being coerced to voice a certain opinion. If this climate exists, the people will elect their representatives with complete freedom and only the right representatives reflecting the hardship experienced by the people, especially the economic hardship, will be elected. If the masses elect their true representatives, who come from the popular base, these representative will form the highest institution, namely, the legislature, in which democracy will have been achieved and in which the member will raise his province's problems in particular and the problems of the greater society in general.

Shaykh Dr Muhammad Sa'd Jalal:

Corruption:

1. If widespread corruption is found in a nation, then this corruption is tantamount to a malady that afflicts the body and that cannot be uprooted all at once but is eliminated gradually, depending on the strength of the cure used to eliminate and uproot it. We can say that what the benevolent forces

in Egypt, both governmental and nongovernmental, are doing all that is possible, and it is hoped that the continuation of their efforts will eliminate the corruption found in the nation, if there is good will and determination. Yes, there is widespread and deep corruption that requires firm, strong and continuous efforts. However, I always tip the scales in favor of optimism over pessimism and I wish those engaged in reform and in eliminating corruption success through honest, honorable and sincere efforts. With these qualities, corruption can be eliminated.

2. I believe that the major reasons for the presence of corruption lie in the weakness of the religious deterrent in the conscience of individuals and of officials. When the religious deterrent in the individual conscience weakens, these individuals violate the law, follow their whims and desires and selfish interests prevail. Consequently, they have no respect for the sanctity of the law, of the homeland or of the rights of others. Thus, corruption spreads and intensifies. As for the officials and the prominent men of the nation, the absence of the religious deterrent in their conscience also motivates them not to respect or implement the law and fills their hearts with a selfishness that consumes them and their actions. They thus fail to perform the duties required of them by virtue of their positions and responsibilities and become partners with others in violating the law and in grossly neglecting the rights of the homeland and of the citizen. The absence of the religious deterrent in the conscience of officials results in their committing all kinds of national treason within the framework of their trusts and responsibilities and in their being indifferent to the loss of major and minor national interests. In a situation of such negative ethics, graft, embezzlement, circumvention of the law, tampering with people's rights, lecentiousness and absence of national compassion for the citizens' hardship and pains--hardship and pains resulting from the failure to meet their essential and basic needs, such as food, water, clothing, medical care, education and so forth--intensify. I also believe, third, that one of the most significant reasons for corruption is laxity of the law in inflicting punishment on corrupters and "God deters with the sultan what He does not deter with the Koran," as 'Umar ibn al-Khattab said. If we establish strict laws that inflict stiff and deterrent punishment, without laxity and without favoritism, then this will be the most effective and decisive way to stop corruption in the land. This is the path of the Koran in which God, may He be praised, says: "The punishment for those who fight God and His prophet and who seek to spread corruption on earth is for them to be executed or to have their hands and feet cut off and to be banished from the land in disgrace in this life. And they shall endure terrible torture in the hereafter." Look, may God lead you to the straight path, how the Koran has established the severest and cruellest punishment for those who spread corruption on the earth and fight God and His prophet.

#### Democracy:

1. Regarding the restrictions imposed on democracy, it is difficult to reach a decisive answer. But we say that democracy has a certain and well-known form, namely, that government be by the people, of the people and for the people and that this concept be realized in every state agency. This requires freedom of expression, of writing and of opinion and, what is most important,

the total and absolute freedom of election, whether it is the election of members of parliament or union members. Nobody should interfere in the freedom of others in the name of religion, of politics or of partisan interest. As we understand, this is the perfect form of democracy. If we want to know the extent of any political system's share of democracy, then we measure it against this fact, which we have stated. A political system is democratic or undemocratic to the degree to which it is compatible with these conditions.

2. Only two things are demanded of the Egyptian democratic institutions: To abide by justice and to guard freedom of the law, of action, of opinion and of expression in a manner that is not in conflict with the freedom and interests of others. If we may add one thing, the state should exert efforts to strengthen these two factors.

Novelist Najib Mahfuz:

Corruption:

1. What has been done so far to confront corruption is what is possible, at least. Anybody suspected of corruption is brought to trial, regardless of his status.

2. The true reasons for corruption lie in our position toward influence in Egypt. Connections are sacred among us and equality in treatment is deficient. An influential person serves his friends, even if he holds a minor position. This is the fundamental malady which, naturally, intensifies under dictatorship because dictatorship puts influential people above the law. Dictatorship is the main culprit in corruption.

3. Uprooting corruption requires that influence peddling and favoritism be considered a crime and that every participant in this crime be punished.

Democracy:

1. In practical terms, there is now in Egypt a degree of democracy unknown to the country perhaps since the July 1952 revolution. As for restrictions, yes, there are some restrictions. There are some special laws and some restrictions on the formation of parties. If a solution is found to these problems, there will undoubtedly be more comprehensive democracy.

2. What is required to strengthen democratic institutions is to abolish some special laws governing the press and the parties. But what is taking place in the People's Assembly is taking place in complete freedom. The opposition's voice is loud in the parliament and in the press.

Writer Dr Yusuf Idris:

Corruption:

1. I believe that the law is adequate. The penal code, not just the socialist prosecutor law, contains enough. What is important is not what is in the law but firm implementation of the law so that nobody escapes it.



2. The problem of corruption can be confronted by applying the law strictly.

3. Egypt's problem, in addition to its need for liberties, is the freedom to form parties, freedom of the press and free elections. Egypt also needs a strong government that renders the people daily services, that implements the law and that restores order to the troubled life that has been corrupted by numerous exceptions and by disregard for government. Egypt needs a strong government. I believe that the National Party government is not a strong government because it is not a popular government and because the majority party is not a popular party but the government party. To have a strong government in Egypt, I believe that such a government must emanate from popular roots. I believe that the National Party alone is not enough, even if it is the majority party. The issue is not one of ordinary majority but of interests served by a coalition government so that this government can rule soundly and strongly.

#### Democracy:

1. We do not live in a fully democratic state but the situation is much better than in the 70's and the days of al-Sadat. But there is still deficiency in democratic application, such as the status and ownership of the national press, the Higher Press Council, the limitation on the formation of parties and the lack of change in personalities on the political, press and media stage, people who have been largely responsible for the political corruption that took place in the 1970's though not for theft and plunder. The problem lies in the corruption that occurred in the 1970's and for which nobody has been brought to account. Of course we have not achieved ideal democratic conditions.

3. What is required is guarantees for democracy. Democracy in Egypt is still a grant from the ruler and no one of the people's basic rights, meaning that as al-Sadat gave us some liberties at the outset of his administration and then withdrew what he had given, President Mubarak has released the political liberties but it is possible at any moment and on the strength of the emergency law under whose shadow we live that all liberties will come to an end. What are the guarantees for continuity? In my opinion, the guarantees are:

First, abolition of the special laws, including the emergency law.

Second, free elections to form the People's Assembly and abolishment of the Consultative Council concept because there is no need for it and it is semiappointed.

Third, amendment of the constitution so that it prohibits more than two terms for the president.

Fourth, that the vice president be elected the same way the president is.

Fifth, the right to form parties, to issue papers, to meet, to strike and to gathering in a sacred and inviolable manner.

Makram Muhammad Ahmad, chief editor of AL-MUSAWWAR Magazine:

#### Corruption:

1. In an issue such as corruption, we cannot yet determine its dimensions precisely. It is not known in advance where the cases of corruption are and where they might be. We hear many rumors about many personalities who became rich in the previous period. But the issue remains within the limits of what we hear and we cannot verify what we hear except through the law and the courts. It is difficult to say that corruption is a widespread and prevalent phenomenon, even though I do not deny this. However, I say that we need irrefutable evidence so that the law can decide on these cases. The issue is whether the state is really sincere in pursuing this phenomenon. I believe that the state is sincere. The state is sincere on the basis of an important position, namely, that the legitimacy of the regime lies in this issue. This is why I imagine that this campaign will not be short-lived, as some people imagine. Ultimately, if the wheel turns, nobody will be able to stop it and if one case is pursued, other cases will surface. With the continued turning of the wheel, what is now being done forms a deterrent.

2. Certainly. The previous years have produced boundless troubles in the Egyptian market--troubles that resulted in increasing the chances of illicit enrichment for a large number of people. But we must convey this problem within its objective framework. I don't believe it is an issue of individuals but of the economic option at the time. Egypt was turning from an economy based on a single role, namely, the public sector, into an economy based on the private sector. It is difficult to say that the Egyptian private sector is an established sector or a sector with its own traditions. It is also difficult to say that this sector did not suffer from previous experiences in the Nasir era. At the outset of the open-door economic policy, the private sector behaved strangely. It acted as if this deal was its last and its motive was quick profit, because this sector had not struck any roots or established any traditions through the history of capitalism in Egypt. In that period in which the import trade flourished in Egypt at fearful rates, these patterns had to emerge. On the other hand, I believe that the private sector has performed a worthwhile role in several areas. With the onset of an open-door policy, however, adventurers seeking quick profit usually emerge. I don't believe that these maladies resulted from the rule of a certain individual in a certain period. This individual could perhaps have controlled the tempo, he should perhaps have set matters aright and it was probably his responsibility to provide an example. All these are undoubtedly elements that we could put in the picture. But I don't at all believe that Egypt, while turning from a totalitarian society based on the public sector's role to a society in which the private sector participates, could have avoided the serious experience embodied in the open-door consumption and its consequences.

3. We should not ask the ruler to strike corruption with a big stick, with the ruler's stick or with the sultan's stick because if we demand this from the ruler then what is to prevent him from using his stick in any other sphere?

When we tell the ruler these days that the People's Assembly contains a number of members accused of smuggling drugs, that they represent a number of interests or an economic class and that the "solution" is to dissolve the People's Assembly, then we give the ruler carte blanche to use the power of the special decree and strike at the same time the goal we seek to achieve, namely, a strong democracy. There are in fact institutions that must function. The socialist prosecutor's task changed in this period. In al-Sadat's time, the socialist prosecutor's task was to bring people to account for their thoughts and intentions. His task under Husni Mubarak's administration is totally different. This task is to pursue the manifestations of corruption, especially the serious manifestations that affect the state policy and in which the misuse of influence is suspected. As long as these institutions are enabled to function, then we should not rush the results or talk of leading a campaign to fight corruption, because what I fear most now is that if we give the ruler carte blanche to use his authority as a ruler to confront this group, then we give him at the same time the legitimacy to use special decrees.

#### Democracy:

1. We must consider Egypt in September 1981 and its situation then and Egypt today and how it has changed, because we often feel that the process of democratic change in Egypt is slow and we often complain of the slow adoption of broader decisions in this regard. We are all in a hurry. We may perhaps think that the government is overly cautious in its steps. But the fact is that when we consider Egypt's situation in September 1981, we find that it was in a state of a fearful internal strife. All the forces were clashing and there was a sectarian crisis. Almost all of society's political forces were on one side and the regime on the other and most of the intellectuals were on one side and the regime on the other. This is in addition to the deteriorating social situation. Moreover, Egypt was exposed in that period in an absolutely unprecedented manner to the wave of religious terrorism. When we consider the relative degree of stability found in Egyptian society at present, when we consider the self-control of the Egyptian political factions, when we consider that the language of boycott has changed and turned into a language of dialogue and when we consider the dimensions of the freedom available to both the national press and the partisan press--when all this is done, despite the presence of the old camp that does not want democracy to spread, this camp whose interests became so involved in the previous period that it imagined that the presence of democracy posed a threat to it--when we consider all this, we actually find that democracy has gained broader grounds and that the ruler is not at all thinking of backing down on these decisions. We may be still probing on this path but when we go back to September 1981, we find that the picture has changed sharply and completely. So far, we have not experienced any setback in the procession and there has been no impulsive reaction on the part of the ruler toward what is happening in the opposition press, whereas we encountered such impulsive reactions almost daily during the previous period.

2. To strengthen democratic institutions, it is necessary:

That the ruling party feel that it will not be strong except with the presence

of a strong opposition and that it put a stop to all the means by which it strives to maintain its automatic majority in the parliament. Without the presence of a social base or the true representation this confers, the party can actually, through its deputies and its numerical majority, make any decision. But this is not the issue. What is important is the impact of the decision in the market and society. Are people enthusiastic about this decision and have they become a party assisting in its implementation or have they become a fundamental obstruction to the decision because the decision is issued against their will? Consequently, the party's use of methods such as the absolute list method, the eviction of electoral districts and open intervention in elections must be stopped completely. These methods are totally incompatible with the nature of the current phase. On the contrary, the emergence of these methods will not serve the concept of the current regime and government. Consequently, the party provides a broader opportunity for the emergence of a strong opposition. I believe that the National Party cannot be effective without the presence of a strong opposition. This is insofar as the ruling party is concerned.

Insofar as the opposition parties are concerned, they must understand the dimensions of the Egyptian problem and realize that we are not in the United States or in Britain. We are a Third World country saddled with enormous burdens, a country whose political options are difficult and whose economic options are difficult. The size of the accumulated problems exceeds the capacity of any government and any party. Consequently, what is required becomes not that we consult the people but that we put our hands in each other's so that we may diagnose the problem properly, propose solutions and actually carry out the proposals. But what is actually happening is that the opposition papers are published as if they were the last edition and as if they will not be published again. They may have a security problem or lack of conviction that their role will continue. But as long as there is a multiplicity of parties, then the government and the opposition are two parties to a relationship within the framework of the state and there is absolutely no alternative to dialogue and the presence of spheres of dialogue and of disagreement between them.

The third point is that we perhaps lack what we might call the minimum limit of agreement. In every part of the world, there is opposition and majority. But there is also a minimum degree of agreement embodied in agreement between the opposition and the government on issues that need not be the subject of disagreement, often issues connected with the state's supreme interests. At times, I feel that the minimum-limit concept is nonexistent among us and that oneupmanship is practiced on issues representing Egypt's supreme interests. We cannot achieve this agreement with just good will among all the parties; we must also conduct joint dialogue between the majority party and the opposition parties.

There are also the election methods. When the minister of interior goes to the president of the republic to tell him that the referendum result amounted to 99 percent when all of the Egyptians are sitting before their television sets, who is deceiving whom and who is deceived by this? All these are

mistakes committed in the previous phase. If the current regime is founded on two mainstays, namely, the honesty of the regime and efforts to entrench democracy, then I believe that the next elections will be a fundamental touchstone for this regime. The signs before us actually confirm the presence of real determination not to interfere in the elections and a real desire for the existence of counteropinion.

It remains for the opposition parties to learn how to be true parties. Who says that the Liberals Party is a party? Yes, it has a successful newspaper but does the presence of a journalistically, but not politically, successful paper make up for the absence of the party? This is one question. As for the Labor Party, despite its patriotic leadership, and even though it includes persons worthy of respect, can we be sure and say that this party contains more than its Parliamentary Committee? Can we say that the Grouping Party could be a party in the true sense of the word? I truly believe that most of the Egyptian parties, including the National Party, have not gone beyond the stage of being parliamentary bodies unable to reach the roots of Egyptian society and that it is their duty to persuade the ordinary man.

Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad, chief editor of AL-AHALI:

#### Corruption:

1. What has been done so far to confront corruption is to hit some of the symbols of corruption and the reason for striking some of the symbols of corruption is the fact that President Husni Mubarak realized that the general situation of al-Sadat policy ended with negative consequences that threatened the stability of the regime. Therefore, some symbols have to be attacked for the stability of the regime. I believe that President Husni Mubarak's conviction is that the main reason for al-Sadat's assassination was not al-Sadat's policy vis-a-vis Israel but rather the widespread corruption in the state's and society's higher circles and that this corruption nurtured an anti-Sadat current represented by Islamic groups characterized by a degree of austerity and by a return to the roots and to the alternative cultural plan instead of leaping into the arms of the West with its corruption. President Mubarak is trying to defuse this reaction and has found it necessary to strike at some symbols because the corruption is widespread; the process has started with personalities such as Rashad 'Uthman and 'Ismat al-Sadat. I believe that the issue is much bigger than corruption. It is no accident that the internal political life is focused nowadays on the corruption issue. The corruption issue is the issue of Egypt's present economic course. It is one way of reflecting the obstacles on Egypt's economic path.

2. I believe that the issue of corruption is the issue of parasitic capitalism in Egypt. This is an unproductive capitalism emanating from the attempt to again release the Egyptian economy. Al-Sadat's open-door attempt was not (in the direction) of the Third World but rather with the international monopolies and the multinational corporations, which are an unequal giant. Al-Sadat made this attempt at a time when money became easily available. The political structure of the open-door economy had to produce middlemen, speculators and people who utilize the available money more than the people who perform truly productive work. The result was the spread and dissemination of corruption. Corruption is not marginal or transient manifestation or a manifestation from above.

3. Confronting corruption will not come through dealing with this issue within the framework of corruption alone. The issue involves correcting the economic course. The fundamental idea in a country like ours is that we must return to planned and independent development.

Salah Jalal, chairman of the Union of Journalists:

#### Corruption:

1. The real reasons for corruption lie in the fact that in every era the ruler surrounds himself with people who exploit his name and misuse the powers of the state without any accountability or control. The reasons for corruption do not lie in the laws. The laws have been promulgated to deter everybody. Corruption is in the soul of people. Small people are afraid and try to flatter influential people, a minister or the president and try to render any service to any of the members of their families. The reasons for corruption in Egypt do not lie in poverty because it has been proven that the poor are more virtuous than the rich and that the rate of corruption and deviation among them is much lower than among the rich. The influential are much greedier. The reason for corruption is not a certain regime or a certain ruler. Corruption is an old Egyptian disease and a disease in the developing countries because the law is not applied to the powerful. The existing laws are quite adequate. But they are applied only to little people. As for the powerful, they believe that they are above accountability because they are rulers or powerful. They also believe that this agency or that ministry belongs to them. The ruler thinks that the entire country belongs to him and that, therefore, there is nothing to prevent him from disposing of his property as he wishes.

2. What has been done so far to confront corruption is not at all enough. Regrettably, what has been done is being exploited politically. This is why it is proceeding in a very narrow direction because its goal is to slander certain people. Consequently, corruption is not being fought as general corruption in all its forms and shapes. It is not permissible to take one part and focus on it as if it were all of corruption. Therefore, if the three or four cases that have emerged represent all corruption, then there is no more corruption, and this is a serious tendency. Corruption is widespread and must be confronted on a broad front. We should not bring to trial so and so because he is so and so's relative, thus turning the issue into a political game or into an advertisement to the effect that corruption is being fought. We must not fight one name and let the others go. The corruption of the owner of the new apartment building that has collapsed is no less than the corruption of 'Isamat al-Sadat, of Rashad 'Uthman or of Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Hayy. Corruption as a whole must be fought and the government should not be afraid to open all the doors at once because corruption is dangerous and powerful and it can coalesce to undermine the regime.

3. Corruption can be fought by example. I cannot understand an official who speaks of corruption and fails to fight the corruption surrounding him. We are fortunate that Husni Mubarak is a model ruler. But not all leaders are models. The ruler may deem that the policy of gradual reform is suitable. As a man from the people and from the soil, I say that the people have been very patient with corruption. If it is said in defense that not all things in Egypt are

corrupt, this is true. But to say that corruption is found in all countries of the world, this is a serious defense and a deceptive and misleading defense. If there is corruption in the United States, the United States can withstand corruption because its economy is rich. If 50,000 are stolen from somebody who owns a million, he will not be greatly affected. But if a single mil is stolen from a man who possesses just 5 piasters, he will be affected. Deterrence in Egypt is more greatly needed because anybody who steals here steals directly from the people's blood. A corrupt person in the United States may be stealing from well-to-do people, thus not hurting them that much. But he who commits an injustice in Egypt does so against truly poor and destitute people. Let us imagine a hungry person with a loaf of bread and then imagine someone taking away half this loaf. This is criminal. It is true that there is corruption the world over but the poor in the world are not crushed as we are and have not been as patient as we have been. Corruption everywhere is no justification for corruption here.

#### Democracy:

1. At present, no restrictions whatsoever, are imposed by the state on democracy but there are restrictions imposed on democracy by those in charge of the press and the various information media. However, I hold the government responsible by virtue of its having chosen these officials. The government has chosen people who know that the government's choice is the basis for their presence. Consequently, they follow the line and they do have internal control. The democratic climate is present but it is not used as well as it should be.

2. What is required to strengthen democratic institutions is to stop intervention and to let most issues be decided by elections, regardless of what is said about the flaws of elections and regardless of the statements that elections will shake the establishment's internal stability or lead to the triumph of the opposition or of the left. Let the opposition win if it has the majority. This is the red herring, namely, that the people are uneducated and will misuse democracy. I believe that the misuse of democracy is much better than sages who rule in the name of democracy without elections.

Hijazi, cartoonist for SABAH AL-KHAYR:

#### Corruption:

1. What has been done so far to fight corruption is not enough.

2. The problem in confronting corruption is that what is happening now is the confronting of an issue and not of corruption. What happened in past years as a result of the absence of freedom and of a failure to discuss what was happening has led to the accumulation of corruption. Had investigations been carried out on every case when it surfaced, we would not have reached the point where now we don't know how deep corruption goes. The intricacy of this corruption makes the parties involved numerous and makes it difficult to control fully. What is happening is that one case is seized on and investigated. But corruption itself is not investigated, along with its social and political causes. This is what has been happening when an apartment building collapses or in the case of 'Ismat al-Sadat. This is confronting individual cases. Comprehensive confrontation and fighting corruption require a broad action.

3. The real reasons for corruption are the absence of democracy and of a free press that exposes corruption immediately instead of having this corruption exposed retroactively. If something is done by Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din's government today, then it must be reported by the press immediately and not when another prime minister appears. Moreover, corruption is present in government agencies.

#### Democracy:

1. Democracy is a matter of education. There are journalists who are scared by democracy even though their work is involved with opinion. These journalists have not been accustomed to freedom from the beginning in either school or society. The employee is not free to express his opinion to his superior and simply receives orders that he carries out. Democracy means giving the intellect a chance to be innovative and capable of thinking. We lack democracy in the school, in the home and in our various institutions.

2. The People's Assembly must be elected, meaning that there must not be in the Ministry of Interior a director of elections whose task is to conduct the elections in a certain manner. Egypt was accustomed in past periods to see the government conduct the elections. Will anybody allow himself to fall? For example, if a person gives himself a test, will he fail himself? When a member of the People's Assembly is elected in a respectable manner, he will express himself respectfully.

#### Actress Nadiyah Lutfi:

1. The measures taken so far are not enough to eliminate corruption because corruption recently became a social phenomenon. The reason for this phenomenon is the flaw that has developed in society in recent years. It is not at all enough to arrest a number of individuals on charges of corruption. What is more important is to adopt measures capable of preventing the recurrence of the manifestations of corruption.

2. The elimination of corruption comes through eliminating the causes that produce this corruption. I imagine that wiping out corruption cannot be achieved except by promulgating laws and amending the constitution in a manner that guarantees protection for the civil servant from the pressures exerted on him--pressures that lead to turning a blind eye to and going along with corruption. Therefore, we must guarantee adequate protection for the public official and must define the responsibilities of every official so that no official may encroach upon the jurisdiction of another official and so that each official will have the freedom to act without any control imposed by an influential person or by the relative of such a person.

3. The real reasons for corruption are the economic, social and political changes that have occurred in the Egyptian society in recent years.

#### Democracy:

1. As far as I, as an individual, am concerned, I have not felt that there are restrictions curbing my freedom in Egypt. But responsibility for the failure to apply democracy in Egypt is not shouldered by any one party to the exclusion of others. This responsibility is shared by the two sides engaged in the democratic process, with one side responsible for ceding its rights and freedom



and for allowing them to be usurped. The blame cannot be placed on the shoulders of one side and not the other.

2. No ethics are legislated and no democracy comes by decree. Ethics and democracy rely fundamentally on the actual and realistic exercise of democracy. It is not expected that democracy will develop by a mere decree. The only path to democracy is the actual exercise of this democracy.

Actor Nur al-Sharif:

Corruption:

1. It is difficult to determine whether what has been done so far to confront corruption is enough or not until other cases are discovered.

2. The real reasons for corruption is fear for the job. As long as the citizen feels that his source of livelihood is his salary, then he will continue to be afraid of his superior and unable to express his opinion frankly.

3. I am pessimistic. I don't believe that we can eliminate corruption at present. I believe that we can educate elementary school children nowadays on exercising true democracy and can raise them with values that have become extinct, such as not being afraid and not lying. It will then be possible to reform society. Today, there is acceptability for circumvention. Lawyers find loopholes through which to infiltrate any law. As long as there are gaps in the law and as long as this deceptive mentality, which lacks conscience, continues to exist, corruption will remain. Promulgating violent laws does not eliminate corruption. The important thing is ethics, not just laws.

Democracy:

1. It is certain that there are restrictions on democracy in Egypt. Generally, I am against absolute democracy, which is impossible in this world. There have to be restrictions, but they should not curtail the free expression of opinion. It is possible to promulgate laws that define conduct so that nobody may engage in acts that might destroy the country and cause society to collapse. It is my opinion that democracy cannot be achieved without providing economic stability. As long as the citizen's life is not stable economically, it will be impossible to secure true democracy. Opinions remain emotional and everybody attacks everybody else.

2. To strengthen democratic institutions, the laws must be stable.

[No 168, 30 Apr-6 May 83, pp 23-24]

[Text] AL-MAJALLAH has addressed to the prominent Egyptian personalities it has interviewed the following two questions:

President Mubarak has declared that Egypt's problems are enormous and require efforts. Is the formulated 5-year plan the ideal way to solve Egypt's economic problems?

In recent years, parasitic groups have emerged in the socioeconomic system and these groups have generated the so-called corruption. How can balance be restored to the Egyptian social structure?

Here are the answers to these questions:

Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad:

1. In its present form, the 5-year plan tries to encompass every project with which to meet the country's internal needs without drawing up a program for each year's priorities separately so that we may begin and complete vital projects before we embark on projects in other sectors. No details for the priorities of each year separately have been formulated; matters are viewed comprehensively. Moreover, opening the door to large investments creates the need for extensive borrowing and for internal inflation. The plan contains nothing to commit the various sectors to implement it and does not provide for penalties for those who deviate from it. On the contrary, and in the name of flexibility in implementing the plan, the government is permitted to change projects within the same sector on its own and without referring to the People's Assembly. Consequently, the presence of a 5-year plan that defines the projects for a period of 5 years is not enough to guarantee implementation of the plan in the desired manner.

2. Restoring balance to the Egyptian social structure requires reexamination of the tax policies so that [taxes] are taken from people with large incomes for the benefit of people with limited incomes. It also requires that Egyptian society be divided into two parts: Participants and workers in the open-door economic projects, which give them the opportunity for large incomes, and the society of state, government and public sector workers. Consideration must also be given to the compatibility between the general level of prices and wages and incomes. All these points must be given attention by the state so that it can achieve social justice and eliminate the formula that relies on a minority spending excessively and provocatively and a broad base that encounters numerous difficulties in meeting its essential needs. This is what has led to the resumption of illegal acts to meet these difficulties.

Muhammad Rashwan:

1. A large part of the economic problem in Egypt is due to international economic problems and 10 percent of it is due to planning in Egypt. The 5-year plan alone will not correct matters. The plan is one of the objective policies that contribute to solving these problems. With this plan, Egypt will embark on the path to economic reform.

2. We are an Arab country and we do not claim to be leaders of the Arab nation. Our position belongs to history and to the relations that have been cemented throughout hundreds of years. Therefore, the social and economic situation in Egypt is a part of Egypt's security and stability and security and stability are a part of the Arab nation's security and stability. When there is stability in Egypt, this stability extends to the Arab nation. This is a fact the Arab brothers must realize. Political stability in Egypt is in their interest before being in our interest.

Khalid Muhyi al-Din:

1. The party's (opposition NPUG Party) economic committee has not yet finished studying the 5-year plan. But the belief that the 5-year plan alone will solve Egypt's problems is incorrect.

2. Democratic reform, political reform and economic together build a cleaner society. There is corruption in all human societies. But the phenomenon whereby the present Egyptian society produces widespread corruption on a large scale has become an almost acceptable and acknowledged tradition. The attempt to portray this phenomenon as sporadic instances of a lack of ethics is wrong. These are economic and social factors grounded in the economic, political and social system. The issue requires a very major change.

Mustafa Amin:

1. It is my opinion that it is necessary to formulate a 5-year freedom plan: In the first year, the special laws are abolished; in the second year, freedom of the press and to publish newspapers is restored; in the third year, the formation of parties becomes a matter of popular will instead of a republican decree; in the fourth year, elections are held for a national assembly that drafts a new constitution in which the people, not the ruler, are the source of all power; and in the fifth year, we will have a parliament representing the nation.

2. The danger of corruption is that the youth have come to believe, as a result of the silence over corruption, that corruption is one of the rules of life. Whereas the thief used to be despised, the honorable man has come to be despised as a stupid idiot because he has not extended his hand to steal and, consequently, has not accumulated a fortune. Meanwhile, another person has been able to accumulate a million pounds in 24 hours while the youth cannot earn 1,000 pounds in 1 year. Consequently, we implant in the youth disappointment and devilish dreams that make him believe that theft is a form of resourcefulness, that work has no value and that only an idiot works and does not steal. A man finds his wife reviling him because his neighbor has been able to steal and buy a car whereas he still has to ride the bus because he has not stolen. Instead of being proud of the fact that her husband is an honest man, a wife feels that she is suffering from a catastrophe because she has married an honest man.

Najib Mahfuz:

1. I have not had the opportunity to study the 5-year plan. But I am confident that the plan has been presented to the people and the press and that it has been received with general satisfaction. This is an indication that this is the first possible step so far.

2. Restoring balance to the social and economic situation in Egypt requires primarily that all illicit activity be stopped. As for parasitic activity, it must pay its dues to the government, paying the taxes it owes so that balance is restored.

Shaykh Dr 'Abd al-Rahman al-Najjar:

1. I remember that there was a 5-year plan in 1960. Had that plan been implemented, our society would have been different now. I believe in planning. Each official should not destroy what was done by the preceding official and begin anew, especially in the executive positions in the ministries. But what we see is that a minister comes, formulates a short-range plan and then leaves, to be followed by another minister who starts from scratch again. It is as if we march without leaving our place. This is wrong. We want general planning and want each official to implement a part of the plan in the period when he is in charge so that the 5-year plan will really produce.

2. We can restore balance to the social situation by having the leaders begin by purging their ranks of any elements surrounded by past suspicions, because the leaders set the example. If the people find that their leaders are 100-percent clean and that they do not stifle opinion, then the people will state their opinion frankly. I believe that we live in a society that has its values and its noble character and when the masses feel that there is intellectual openness, they will produce magnificent opinions that serve the interest of society as a whole. I don't like to see any one person's dominate. How beautiful are the words of the poet who said: "The country will not suffer with the opinion of the group, despite differences, whereas the opinion of the individual brings it suffering."

Shaykh Dr Muhammad Su'ad Jalal:

1. As far as the 5-year plan is concerned, any attempt made by the ruler to reform and repair the economic and social situation deserves to be assisted and encouraged by the nation, whether the attempt is perfect or deficient. I am speaking here in the language of the Islamic world, regardless of any other considerations. If the ruler takes action for reform, then others must assist and encourage him to move forward on his path. If the ruler's plan is deficient and flawed, then they have to draw his attention to these aspects of his work with utter honesty, good will, fear of God and concern for the country. In such a case, the ruler must, when he finds out his mistakes or the flaw in his plan, exert efforts to correct this flaw or deficiency to the best of his ability and with sincere intentions. I say that if the ruler and the ruled feel that fear of God and if they renounce personal interest, then God will light the straight path to serve their interest and will help all to achieve what is in the interest of the people and of the country. God has said: "You have been the best nation produced on earth to promote virtue, prevent vice and believe in God." God has also said: "Your God will not unjustly destroy villages when their people are reformers."

2. We can restore balance to the social situation primarily by establishing right and justice, by implementing the laws, by purging the souls of their whims and desires and by preventing collusion between officials and the corrupt to further spread corruption and evil. This, we believe, depends on having members of parliament perform their duty in protecting this nation from this corruption and, on the other hand, in having the ruler perform his duty in preventing this corruption. If there are sincere intentions to prevent corruption in the nation, a thousand and one ways will emerge to

eliminate this corruption with every means. These parasitic creatures have surfaced as a result of the laxity in implementing the law and as a result of many officials betraying their trust and failing to perform their national, administrative and legal duty in fighting corruption. If we correct all these flaws, and as we repeatedly say, it is easier said [sentence incomplete]. We must eliminate these forms of corruption. God, may He be praised, has said: "God will not change what is in people until they change what is in their hearts."

Dr Yusuf Idris:

1. The 5-year plan is very great and lacks nothing but the people to implement it. For the people to rise now, they must get their full democratic rights and must be governed by truly popular agencies. I have said in one of my articles that what is required is not change but "popularization," meaning that we should bring in popular leaders that take charge of leading the people toward production and toward implementing the plan. But as long as the people feel that their leaders represent nothing that concerns them, they will not produce.

2. We do not need special laws to restore balance to the social situation. We need to strengthen the tax agency and to establish strict control over foreign banks. There is no country in the world that permits money to be taken out of it without any control and in such quantities as Egypt does. I believe that the existing laws are enough but they must be implemented firmly.

Makram Muhammad Ahmad:

1. What is important is to have a plan and define the priorities of this plan. Egypt's problems have been diagnosed precisely. But the problem is that the capability available is limited. At times, major strategic decisions are needed. A strategic decision to streamline Egyptian manpower in government offices and factories which contain thousands of surplus workers may perhaps be the solution to this problem. The solution to this problem may lie in a decision to dismiss the excess. But who can take such a decision and what would the social impact of such a decision be? There may be another solution, such as transferring and training this excess in new fields. But how many millions of pounds and how many sincere and capable institutions does such a solution require? I believe that we had no plan at one time. At times we had a plan and then said that there were projects within the plan and others outside the framework of the plan. A large part of the foreign aid flowed into the projects outside the plan. Consequently, the ordinary citizen felt no benefit from this aid. Today, we feel that there is truly a serious desire on the part of the state to gather the capabilities and let them flow into a plan. Consequently, the ordinary citizen felt no benefit from this aid. Today, we feel that there is truly a serious desire on the part of the state to gather the capabilities and let them flow into a plan. This is something that must be encouraged. But it also must be said that the plan is not everything. There are numerous productive activities. The state cannot compel the private sector and then let it proceed according to its interest. Has the

state performed this role adequately? I doubt this. Nearly 35 percent of the remittances of Egyptians working abroad are spent on consumer goods or on building rural homes at the expense of cultivable land, with land speculation arising as a result. Nobody has explained to these people that there are more beneficial ways for them to invest their monies.

2. To restore balance to the social situation, it is important to educate capitalism to perform a really productive role. This cannot be done by just saying welcome to capital. It comes by familiarizing this capital with the projects on which they should embark to serve their objectives and the objectives of the state. There is at present a desire to see the role of trade diminish and of agricultural and industrial production expand. I believe that we are at the outset of this stage. But this change cannot occur easily because the values that develop with the first option, namely, that each person wants to make profit and to consume, are values that cause the concept of homeland to be lost and that turn patriotism into a hallow word devoid of any real meaning. A society founded on production lives under completely different values, namely, the values of work and affiliation. The issue does not lie in having the minister of economy decide on paper that he wants to decrease trade volume and expand credit for production and agriculture. In its absolute form, this is very easy to say. But it is very difficult to implement, considering that it encounters numerous problems and needs a society with new values.

Hijazi:

1. The problem is that it is possible to draw up a plan which then collapses. What is important is how to implement this plan and who is to implement it. Since the onset of the revolution, the representatives of the workers have not been elected soundly. In addition to inflated management, there has always been a spirit obstructing the smooth progress of work. These [presumably management and workers] are the ones who implement the plan and they must move with enthusiasm. This requires that they truly believe that there is something serious in Egypt. We have been constantly beginning and now nobody believes that we will begin.

2. As for restoring balance to the social situation, discussions on the reasons for what has happened lead to the need for a real change. What is happening now and what has been happening for along time is just confronting individual outbreaks, not the roots of the problem. The impact of all this on the social structure has led to a flaw in social behavior. It is difficult to correct this flaw. But if people develop a true belief that there is a change in their interest, then many things will change, as happened during the October war when a spark was touched off and the entire country united. At present, there are disunited individuals, meaning that everyone is looking for his own quick interest. There is no collective mind, collective values or a path on which the people move enthusiastically.

Salah Jalal:

1. The 5-year plan is a beautiful plan on paper. The problem we have in Egypt is that of execution. The problem is not in the 5-year plan but in its execution. I can say that I am not optimistic insofar as execution is

concerned because the method of implementation follow-up and of accountability for implementation is still the same. A minister who fails to execute is dismissed and becomes an "ex-minister." This is not enough. He who causes the national economy to incur a loss must be punished. It is not enough that such a person did not embezzle. As long as he failed to perform his work, he caused the national economy to incur a loss just because he failed to produce. He must be punished for not producing. It is not enough that a minister who fails to execute the plan become an ex-minister, because an ex-minister will leave the cabinet post and take a position with a firm for a higher income. The law concerning the trial of ministers must be implemented. If this law were applied to one or two ministers, not for political reasons but for economic ones, then things would change.

2. Parasitic groups have existed from the time of the monarchy and throughout the revolution. We did not fight them in previous eras because we could not speak about them. What has led to the exposure of corruption this time is the existence of freedom of expression, of an opposition press and of people who speak out on corruption. If we want to fight corruption, then let us fight it in all its forms and under all its names. We can restore balance to the social and economic structure by stiffening penalties.

Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad:

1. The 5-year plan is a lengthy, technical matter. It is impossible for the 5-year plan to be an ideal solution under existing laws because we are not dealing with a specific economic philosophy. We are dealing with conflicting and jumbled economic philosophies toward which no decisive position was taken in the past and with philosophies that impose themselves without settling the issue. We cannot say that what is being planned now can be ideal for the future because what is planned is tantamount to a fabricated policy. We no longer have the characteristics of the past period and we have not formed the features of the next period. We are in the middle of the road and whatever is produced in such a situation cannot have the quality of stability and continuity.

2. To restore balance to the social situation in Egypt, the phenomenon of democracy must first be strengthened in society by allowing broader participation by broader masses in the general political life. I believe that the steps taken by the opposition press are good steps. The regime has found itself in a clash with a prominent member of al-Sadat family, namely, 'Isamat al-Sadat. These people see in 'Isamat al-Sadat the name to which they cling, if not the person. The proximity of this person to this name reflects the fact that even this name has not been free of such behavior [corruption]. The dilemma is how to utilize the opposition as a force that brings some balance to the present regime. Such a use of the opposition is limited somewhat and is embodied fundamentally in the opposition press, in movement that does not go beyond the headquarters of the opposition parties and in the word spoken in the street. These are, of course, difficult calculations. To really confront corruption, we must have a mass mobilization that exceeds these bounds. It is difficult to remain indefinitely in this position or game of balancing the forces. A decision ultimately must be made. We are approaching the moment of decision because there are no avenues of retreat. We will not retreat again. In the wake of the story of 'Isamat al-Sadat, there can be no compromise. Thus, there is only one path leading forward; there is no path leading backward.

Nadiya Lutfi:

1. The main criterion insofar as the plan is concerned is not to evaluate it now but to wait and see if it is implemented or not. The people imagine that the officials in charge are capable of everything and possess magical powers. Ultimately, the official is a person with limited capabilities and resources.

2. Restoring balance to the social situation cannot be achieved through sound laws alone. What is more important is to implement the law. There has to be a serious leadership capable of implementing all this, otherwise we will revert to our previous situation. All the changes that have occurred in recent years have opened the doors for the emergence of these types that have posed a threat to society's moral and economic structure. What is required is to benefit from all that has happened, to study these cases and to try to return to society's normal tempo. This requires redoubled efforts, continuity and follow-up to curtail these phenomena prior to wiping them out.

Nur al-Sharif:

1. An economic policy must be drawn up and the media must stop lying and saying, for example, that it is possible to reform everything in 5 years. On the contrary, frankness is needed. When the people learn the truth, they will undoubtedly exert intensive efforts so that their children can live. We must not be selfish. The defeatism that has developed in recent years will not make it possible for the reform to occur quickly and we will encounter severe obstacles. But at the same time, laws promulgated for economic reform must not be unfair to certain classes. The problem of the employee must be solved because the crushed class in Egypt is the employee class.

2. A difficult solution is required to restore balance to the social situation in Egypt. My opinion in this regard is radical, namely, that any individual proven to have exploited the people should be executed, not just tried.

8494

CSO: 4504/368



LOANS FOR AGRICULTURAL, FOOD SECURITY PROJECTS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 23 Jun 83 p 9

[Article by 'Adil Shafiq: "\$80 Million Loan from the International Bank to Finance Agricultural Industrialization Projects"]

[Text] A contract has been signed between the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] and the Egyptian government to finance agricultural industrialization and food security projects, valued at \$80 million.

Fathallah Rifa't, chief of the Main Bank for Agricultural Development and Credit, stated that the agricultural development banks' share was \$20 million to finance the importation of agricultural equipment and machinery from abroad.

The loan principles have been set so that financing of small projects, whose fixed assets are no more than 500,000 Egyptian pounds [LE], will not exceed LE400,000, i.e., about \$475,000, while the maximum financing of medium-sized projects will be \$1 million, and large projects will have a maximum financing of \$2 million.

These loans will be granted after an economic, technical and commercial feasibility study has been made for the project, and on condition that the investor submits three bids from three different companies, so that the bank can make a preferential comparison between them, in terms of costs and technical specifications. After approval, the bank will open the letters of credit for the project.

The Agricultural Credit Bank has used its share of the first loan from IBRD, valued at \$6.7 million out of a total loan of \$19 million, distributed to three banks.

Five large projects have been financed for a total of \$3.9 million, along with 22 small projects amounting to \$2.8 million. These projects include feed factories, refrigeration and cold-storage plants, poultry incubation facilities, egg hatcheries and poultry fattening facilities, rabbit breeding farms, dairy product factories and potato gradation plants.

These loans were made with 15 percent interest, subject to adjustment in accordance with the importance of the project. This is in harmony with the government's policy with respect to the encouragement, development and growth of small projects.

7005

CSO: 4504/433

## ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ASSESSED; DIFFICULTIES VIEWED

Paris BULLETIN DE L'ECONOMIE ARABE in French May-Jun 83 pp 11-12

/Text/ Among other provisions, the 1981-1985 Libyan Five-Year Plan projected the progressive reduction of oil exports from 642 barrels per day in 1980 to 462 million barrels per day in 1985, so as to allow for the growth of exports of other products. According to the ceilings fixed by OPEC at the 1982 summit in Vienna, Libya should reduce its output to 750,000 barrels per day. Despite this injunction and in disregard of its own plans, Libya exported almost 1,800,000 barrels per day at the end of last year. However, its oil exports earned it no more than \$10 billion, barely half of 1980 revenues.

As Libya is another victim of the oil glut, it is not surprising that it adopted severe measures to enable it to honor its financial commitments. Its suppliers were worried by Libya's deferrals of payments due in the past 18 months. Halfway through last year, diplomats stationed in Tripoli said that Libya had debts amounting to \$12 billion, with \$5 billion chargeable to 1981. Some of these debts have now been repaid, but the London EGCD /expansion unknown/ continues to pay indemnities to certain suppliers at the rate of \$5 million per month.

To try and slow expenditure, the investments projected in the five-year plan have been subjected to sharp delays. Several major projects were deferred or canceled, in particular with regard to the rail infrastructure and the aqueduct that was to link the Sarir Desert with the coast; the companies tendering for the chemical complex at Sirte (estimated at \$1 billion) have been asked to submit their offers accompanied by a commitment to finance this project.

Still, many industrial projects are too far advanced to be canceled, and the 1983 budget appropriation for imports of industrial equipment goods is 40 percent higher than for imports of consumer products. The total non-defense spending listed in the budget amounts to around \$11 billion, \$1 billion more than anticipated revenues. When we take into account weapons purchases that will cost almost \$4 billion, the likely deficit will be on the order of \$4-5 billion. Of course there are the reserves, estimated at \$6 billion at the end of 1982; but it is difficult to know what percentage of this amount is easily realizable.

The decline in oil prices will aggravate Libya's difficulties. In addition to draconian measures at home (the People's Congress has just increased the length of the working day to 12 hours, and this will mean a reduction in the hiring of foreign workers), Libya is also trying to find solutions at the external level. The recent

agreements concluded with the Soviet Union have adopted barter--already current between the two countries--as the normal commercial procedure: As in 1982, Soviet weapons will be paid by Libyan oil. Renewed in this form, this provision is one of the clauses of the treaty to be signed by the two countries, both of them equally worried by the growing American influence in the Near East.

None of these considerations were dealt with by Fawzi al-Shakshuki, secretary of planning, on the occasion of the luncheon and discussion organized in his honor on 9 March last by the Franco-Arab and Franco-Libyan chambers of commerce. Emphasizing that his country was beginning the implementing stage of its third development plan, Secretary Shakshuki offered details about the manner of distribution of budget appropriations in this period; the most important items being:

- Heavy industries: 400 million dinar (1 dinar equals about Fr 24.50)
- Agriculture and agricultural reform: 296 million dinar
- Transportation: 310 million dinar
- Utilities: 215 million dinar
- Electricity: 200 million dinar
- Housing: 200 million dinar.
- Education: 140 million dinar.

The other sectors (light industries, health, information and press, social security and planning) will receive appropriations less than 100 million dinar each. This phase of implementation provides for 18.5 billion dinar altogether; 2.4 billion dinar of this sum will be spent in 1983.

Secretary Shakshuki further recalled that the People's Congress had adopted a 1983 import budget amounting to 1.6 billion dinar. He failed to mention that severe restrictions are being imposed on imports of consumer goods. Secretary Shakshuki preferred to emphasize the pursuit of efficient Franco-Libyan cooperation, specifying that French companies were welcome to participate in Libya's development. The ball is now in the French camp. It remains to be seen whether French firms will wholeheartedly respond to the Libyan invitation, or whether the fear of not being paid promptly in hard cash will discourage their enthusiasm for exports.

11698

CSO: 4519/279

## PROBLEMS, POTENTIAL OF OIL RESOURCES EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 168, 30 Apr-6 May 83 pp 46, 47

[Article: "Wealth Requiring 14 Billion Dollars: The Sudan Occupies 13th Place Among the Arab Oil States"]

[Text] The oil discoveries made in the south of the Sudan are considered small next to those made in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Iraq and the Sultanate of Oman in the last 50 years. However, they give this country some hope of a better life.

The Sudan is the richest of the Arab countries in terms of its climatic, water and agricultural potential, but exploitation of this potential and of other sources of wealth requires roads and infrastructure costing billions of dollars, as well as a trained work force. The basic condition for the exploitation of this wealth is that money must fall from the sky to enable the Sudan to open the roads to reach its fertile agricultural lands and jungles.

However, the oil wealth which has been discovered is very small, and will not allow the Sudan to export more than 100,000 barrels per day. The American company, called Chevron, which discovered the oil, might stumble across new finds which would allow the Sudan to export larger quantities, but one cannot be certain of this expectation.

Chevron is drilling for oil in a huge territory exceeding 300,000 square kilometers in the southern region of Bentiu. It was able to build a "colony" there after having transferred 800,000 tons of installations and equipment with great difficulty and under complex circumstances. More important than that is that it is now employing 3,000 Sudanese workers.

### Pipeline

This wealth is not easy to get at, at any rate. In order for it to be possible to export 100,000 barrels a day, the Sudanese government must build a pipeline 1440 kilometers long from the south to the closest point on the Red Sea coast, passing through jungles and across rivers. The cost of the pipeline is estimated at 12 billion dollars, while the cost of the other oil installations is about 2 billion dollars, for a total cost of \$14 billion.

If we suppose that the Sudan will be able to export 100,000 barrels per day, then the yearly returns, at the current prices for heavy oil, will not be more than \$950 million, which is to say 7.1 percent of the cost of the pipe and the installations, which means the returns will be low relative to the sums invested, at least in the world of the oil industry.

Sudanese officials hope that exports will increase in the future, with the small amount discovered so far being only an encouraging beginning. Supposing that additional quantities of oil are not discovered, rather unlikely in a country with an area as huge as the Sudan's (2.5 million square kilometers), the probable returns will be enough to cover the Sudan's oil bill, which amount to about \$430 million per year. As a consequence, the balance of payments will improve and the country will be able to earmark additional funds for the development battle, especially for building infrastructure.

For this reason, Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri recently visited South Korea to speak with officials about the possibility of this growing industrial Asian state participating in the construction of the pipeline, which it is estimated will be completed by 1986.

However, the Western oil companies seemingly are exerting pressure to push the South Koreans out of the Sudan, since oil experts say that the Koreans do not have enough experience in the oil industry. Therefore, it would be better to seek help from Western expertise. On the other hand, it also seems that the Koreans will bear a part of the pipeline's cost, though not as much as the Sudanese government wants. At any rate, the last word will go to the American company Chevron, which also wants the oil transport operation to be done according to the specifications and technology which suit its interests.

### 13th Place

It was part of the Sudan's plans that the pipeline would extend to the city of Kosti, which lies 350 kilometers to the south of Khartoum, in order to feed the refinery which it had decided to build there. However, officials disqualified these plans and preferred to extend the pipeline to the Red Sea after including in their calculations probable new discoveries which would enable the Sudan to export considerable quantities in the future.

The Sudan holds 13th place among the Arab countries in which oil has been discovered. As for the other countries, they are: Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman, Libya, and Algeria, which export huge quantities of oil, and Syria, Bahrain, Egypt and Tunisia, which export small amounts or produce enough oil to meet their needs. The Sudan will be in the second group of nations, those that possess small oil resources. When it is initiated as an oil exporting country, it will join the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, OAPEC, which has its headquarters in Kuwait. Thus, the Sudan will be able to benefit from the organization's experience, as well as from the technologies and facilities it provides member states. Tunisia recently expressed its desire to join OAPEC, hoping to gain its technical and financial support.

Morocco hopes that it will be the 14th Arab country to discover oil in its territory. The Kuwaiti Oil organization is cooperating with Gulf Aquitaine in carrying out prospecting operations in Morocco which are expected to lead to the discovery of limited resources.

There was talk in Lebanon about the possibility of discovering oil or natural gas on the coast before the events of 1976 occurred. The Lebanese government actually negotiated with 15 small petroleum companies which showed some desire to search for oil back then, but events then deprived Lebanon of what might have proved to be small oil resources.

12224

CSO: 4504/377

## EASTERN PROVINCE WATER, DAM, ELECTRICITY PROJECTS REVIEWED

Khartoum AL-SAHAFAH in Arabic 3 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] Mr 'Uthman Salih Kuday, minister of housing and public utilities in the Eastern Province, announced in a special statement to AL-SAHAFAH that the provincial government, as part of its efforts to solve the water shortage in al-Qadarif, has prepared studies including the construction of a new water plant to the north of the al-Shuwak water plant to feed the latter, as well as the digging of artesian wells in the areas of Abu al-Naja and al-Shuwak. Studies have also been done on the utilization of flood waters and the procurement of water resources from the al-Rahad river. His excellency said that these studies would be sent to the Higher Ministerial Committee for Solving the Water Shortage in al-Qadarif, which is headed by General A.H. 'Umar Muhammad al-Tayyib, first deputy to the president of the republic. His Excellency added that the current water situation in al-Qadarif is secure and that the plan which was drawn up to solve the water problem is proceeding in a desirable fashion. Work has begun on putting into operation the pipeline between the Abu al-Naja water station and al-Qadarif, in order to supplement the city's water supply. Moreover, the electricity generator in the al-Shuwak water station has been installed, in order to expand the plant's current ability to deliver water and electricity.

In a related development, his excellency said the provincial government had prepared studies on how to protect the city of al-Qadarif from floods. The plan includes construction of five dams: the Kassala dam, the al-Mufarqa'at dam, the Republic dam, the al-Bornu dam, and the railway dam. The cost of all this is 2.5 million pounds, and the goal in building them is to gain control of the course of the flood waters, as well as to help in purifying the stream of Abu Farigha.

In addition, his excellency confirmed that this April will witness completion of the work on the first electricity plant at Port Sudan, which is being built by the 'Hooks' company. The third electricity plant will be turned over next November.

Concerning the plan to bring lighting to the dwelling villages at new Halfa, his excellency said village number 9 had been hooked up, and that the remainder of the villages would be hooked up on schedule.

12224

CSO: 4504/377

# AL-JAZIRAH PROJECT CHAIRMAN CITES COTTON PRODUCTION

Khartoum AL-SAHAFAH in Arabic 3 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] 'Abd-al-'Azim Muhammad Husayn, chairman of the board and governor of the al-Jazirah project, announced in a statement to AL-SAHAFAH that the ginning of short-, medium-, and long-fibre cotton from the current agricultural season was proceeding in an excellent fashion, with the amount of cotton ginned having reached 1,267,341 qintars, as compared with 605,936 qintars last season.

Now at the gins are 294,128 sacks of al-Zahra cotton, as compared with 408,458 sacks for the same period last year, meaning that productivity in the gins has increased noticeably this year, and that their productive capacity has doubled in comparison with the past agricultural seasons.

The governor of the al-Jazirah project pointed out that the gins' output of cotton ginned in bale form reached 308,852 bales, of which 221,560 bales were exported, it being expected that 87,292 more bales will be exported.

Mr 'Abd-al-'Azim Muhammad Hysayn made it clear that the production of new commercial seed was 88,484 metric tons, of which 12,048 sacks were exported. It is expected that 1,277,906 sacks will be exported.

The chairman of the board of al-Hazirah made it clear that the increase in the productive capacity of the gins was due to the encouraging policy followed by the administration, which gave the workers their rights and announced incentives which motivated them to work, which in turn helped create an environment conducive to work, exertion and sacrifice. It is this which will achieve a high economic return for the fatherland and give impetus to the efforts being exerted to emerge from lassitude and revivify the Sudanese economy.

The governor of al-Jazirah praised the policy of the state concerning solving the problems of the producers by means of applying the new relations of production to farmers, a policy which reflected very greatly on the current agricultural season in al-Jazirah and al-Manaqil, in addition to what the state's relief plan to save the al-Jazirah project has accomplished.

12224

CSO: 4504/377



## TUNISIA

### BRIEFS

ZAIRE ENVOY--Foreign Minister Beji Caid Essebsi had a meeting yesterday morning at his office with Mr Husayn 'Abdallah, Lebanese ambassador to Tunis, who had come to pay him a farewell visit at the end of his mission to Tunisia. Mr Beji Caid Essebsi also received Mr Mbolangina Katako, the new Zairian ambassador to Tunis, who gave him a decorated copy to his credentials. [Text] [PML10955 Tunis L'ACTION in French 23 Jun 83 p 4]

NEW POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBERS--President Habib Bourguiba this morning appointed Mezri Chekir, minister at the prime minister's office in charge of administrative reforms and civil service, and the mayor of Tunis, Zakaria Ben Mustapha members of the Political Bureau in succession to Mansour Moalla and Tahar Belkhodja. [Text] [Tunis Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 27 Jun 83]

CSO: 4500/241

## BRIEFS

RELATIONS, ENVOYS TO CISKEI--The first group of Israeli experts leaves next month for the South African tribal homeland of Ciskei--10 doctors and their families who will spend three years in the country. An official of the Ciskei Trade Mission in Tel Aviv, Yosef Schneider, told the JERUSALEM POST that, in addition to the doctors, a group of Israeli agricultural experts is going to Ciskei next month to survey its development needs in this area. The president of Ciskei, Dr Lennox Sebe, is visiting Israel, accompanied by his health minister and other officials, to examine technical aid and trade projects with Israel. Israel does not recognize Ciskei or any of the other "independent homelands" created by the South African Government. Schneider added that Israeli industrialists in the textile and formica branches plan to visit Ciskei soon to check out investment possibilities. The government and the Ciskei National Development Corporation, established by South Africa, offer incentives to foreign investors to promote industrial growth. Most of Ciskei's labour force is either agricultural or employed in South African industries. The doctors will be serving as department heads in some of Ciskei's five hospitals or will be setting up departments. [Charles Hoffman] [Text] [TA150812 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 15 Jul 83 p 2]

CAPTURED SOVIET CANNON OPERATIONAL--A Soviet mobile anti-aircraft cannon, the 23-mm ZSU, called the Gandish and used by the Warsaw Pact countries as a frontline cannon, has been in operational service in the Israeli Air Force for some time now. The cannon was revealed now in preparation for Air Force Day. The operational use of the cannon in Israel became possible after the Lebanon war, in which the IDF captured many of these weapons along with professional literature dealing with them. [Yosef Walter] [Text] [TA151045 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 15 Jul 83 p 1]

CSO: 4400/430

EDITORIAL VOICES SUPPORT FOR AMIN AL-JUMAYYIL

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 324, 7 May 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Samir 'Atallah: "As the Lebanese Dole Out Nationalism the Occupier Divides the Country"]

[Text] In 1 week President al-Jumayyil had gone in four directions. He sent Prime Minister al-Wazzan to Riyadh, sending with him the full report on the tripartite negotiations. He sent Dr Elie Salim and Mr Jean 'Ubayd to Damascus, and he sent with them the same report as well as a message to President al-Asad about the withdrawals. In Beirut President al-Jumayyil was spending most of his time talking to or listening to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Some time before that he had received Soviet Ambassador Soldatov who appears to be one of the decision makers in the Soviet hierarchy just as Dobrynin was in Washington.

This happened in a matter of days. But if we were to take a quick look at the past 7 months, we would see that the president himself had flown to the United States, to France, to the Vatican, Morocco, Riyadh, the United Nations and New Delhi. During the same period his personal representatives, his advisers or his ministers flew to all the Arab countries without exception. They also flew to Washington, Paris, London and other European capitals. During this period in particular the ministers of foreign affairs of France, Italy and the United States came to Lebanon. In addition a number of other emissaries also came to Lebanon.

In 7 months then the president did cover the four corners of the world. However, it seems that there is a fifth corner that the state is precluded from and that is out of the president's and the presidency's reach. It seems this fifth corner will remain out of the world's reach and out of the reach of the Republic of Lebanon. That fifth corner consists of those "republics and mini-states that have been set up on Lebanese territory and Lebanese soil." The fifth corner also consists of the Lebanese people [in all these republics and mini-states].

This is not a tragedy that befell Amin al-Jumayyil today. This tragedy, that is, the Lebanese people, has been the tragedy of al-Jumayyil [for some time] since he belongs to the generation of independence.

This is not a tragedy that befell the republic today. This tragedy has been Lebanon's tragedy since it was founded. This is not a tragedy that began in Lebanon today; this tragedy began in Lebanon when every Lebanese citizen decided

to have a republic other than his Republic of Lebanon. It began when every Lebanese citizen decided to have a state other than his state and a president other than his president. [This has been the case] in all administrations.

And I mean all administrations in which the president does not impose his peace or his war and decides that he symbolizes the democracy that he brings and to which, accordingly, he will remain truthful and captive. Consequently he prefers to share the joys of the Lebanese so as not to anger them, but then he discovers that the Lebanese prefer to march in Lebanon's funeral. We are referring here to all the Lebanese people without hesitation; we make no apologies to anyone; and we exclude no one. There is no duplicity here.

This is what the Lebanese people did with every president.

This is what the Lebanese people did with every administration.

During the days of the mandate it was the mandatory power that had no confidence in the presidency. It was the mandatory power that broke up the presidency, arranging demonstrations and setting up the proper climate for the overthrow and replacement of the president. The mandatory powers found people who would march to their beat even when they overthrew Ayyub Thabit, that ascetic president. As usual the Lebanese people honored him after he was ousted from office. After the mandate, however, it was the Lebanese people themselves who undertook to show their lack of confidence in the president. If they did not receive assistance from abroad, they would ask for it. This was how they brought Bisharah al-Khuri [to the presidency] as an independence hero, removing him from office [on the strength of] people's petitions. Then they brought Camille Sham'un to save them from Bisharah al-Khuri, and they sent him home on top of a tank. Then they brought Brigade Commander Fu'ad 'Abdallah Shihab to save them from the tyranny of Camille Sham'un. When he left office, no one would even visit him or greet him.

Does the fault lie with the presidency or with the governed?

Are we to take these statements to mean that we support hero worship in the state and that we oppose democracy, which is the glory of Lebanon? Are we to take these statements to mean that we support the president against [his] subordinates or that we support the government against the people?

Is it possible that these statements be taken to mean that?

Yes, [these statements can be so construed].

We do worship freedom, and we do glorify liberties. We solemnly swear that we cannot live for one moment without freedom. We, that is, the silent majority that has not proclaimed for itself a republic other than the Republic of Lebanon, say that we are with the country and against the nationalism of Lebanese people of which there are now at least 57 different varieties. We, the silent majority, say that we are for the land against those who are trying to partition the land in the name of the country. We, the silent majority, say that we are for the independence of every inch and against those who are trying to enslave every inch in the name of nationalism, of Lebanon's identity and of conflicting notions about the shape, kind and mode of country we are to have.

God forbid that we be for dictatorships!

But we also affirm and acknowledge that we do not understand the Lebanese people and do not know these proud people who love democracy and love liberty and yet go along with nothing but force. Force is the only thing they understand, and force is the only way they can be disciplined.

To provide one and not all examples we go back to the administration of the late Fu'ad Shihab. Prime Minister Fu'ad Shihab had locked up more than 50,000 Lebanese citizens in prison early in his administration. He placed half the deputies who represent Lebanon's democracy on provisional retirement, and he tried to build a state or at least the skeleton of one without the usual clamor. It may be said that many liberties were lost in Shihab's administration and that all the Lebanese classes without exception were affected and annoyed by the restraints that were placed on people's liberties.

Nevertheless, the Lebanese people cheered and wrote poems.

The Lebanese people raised slogans [that pleaded], "Don't leave us in turmoil!"

A democratic Lebanese citizen, or rather a Lebanese citizen who wears his democracy on his sleeve can, if necessary, set his democracy aside as he sets out to join an evening celebrations, as though democracy were a mere coat he would wear during the summer. The Lebanese citizen who is attached to the liberties in whose name he is dismantling the country one town and one village at a time proved that he practices his democracy and his freedom in a better manner under the protection of the army or the gendarmes or, in the present case, whoever replaces them.

Aren't these terrible things to say against citizenship?

Yes, they are.

If our comrades of yesteryear were to read these words, they would say, "People have undoubtedly lost their minds or their principles."

No, forgive us, what we lost is confidence in the Lebanese people. How can one lose confidence in an entire nation? It would be easier and simpler to lose confidence in the state and in the regime. The secret behind that fact lies with the oppressive minority of Lebanese and not with the silent majority or rather the majority that has been silenced. This is because the majority refused to bear arms against members of the same family; they refused to partition the land; and they refused to accept an occupation force taking the country, the land and sovereignty hostage and then sitting at a table and asking for more of everything.

What is the occasion for all this talk?

The occasion for this talk is the fact that we are for the republic. This is the first time for me, a man who has been a writer for 20 years, [to write such statements]. Never before did I use my pen for a president or a vice president. Never before was my loyalty granted to anyone but my country and my nation. I was never hired to praise anyone nor paid off to criticize anyone on the face of this earth.

We have always been for the republic. We have been for it, but we have not been its slaves. We have been for it in the sense that we argue with it, we criticize it and we assume positions toward it that are legitimate. But the country is another story. We oppose those who quarrel with the country and those who criticize the country by fragmenting it. We oppose those who made us to people abroad appear to be an example of people whose loyalties are to be bought and sold. We oppose those who made us the laughing stock of the the citizens of all other countries without exception because we amuse ourselves by doling out nationalism while the occupying force divides the country.

We oppose those who stand behind guns and talk about democracy, and we oppose those who safeguard freedom with the butts of rifles and machine guns.

We oppose those who safeguard the legitimate government by setting themselves up alone as the legitimate government.

We oppose those who despite everything say that we cannot coexist, making us thereby an example of fragmentation in the whole world and a subject for political, social and class analysis in Washington's and Moscow's research facilities.

Quite simply we are for the legitimate government. We are ashamed to say that we are for the country because a person is not for the country; rather, he is the country. Quite simply, we are for Amin al-Jumayyil. We are for Amin al-Jumayyil particularly and specifically for more than one reason, [or rather] for a thousand reasons. Foremost among these reasons is the faith we have in rightful liberties and in true democracy.

Amin al-Jumayyil came to us from the Chamber of Deputies to which he was elected. He was elected because he knows the voters and he knows their daily lives, their worries and their aspirations. He also knows the country, and he belongs to the generation of independence. Amin al-Jumayyil came to us because of democratic practices, because of his knowledge of the Arab world, because of independence and because of [his] faith in the republic.

We elected him president, but we have yet to turn over the presidency to him.

We gave him the key by consensus when we were in a state of crisis, but the republics and the mini-states are changing the locks again.

Instead of letting the president be the president of one republic, we've turned him into an opposition leader against the existing republics.

We have to choose before he does which country we want, which republic we want and which president we want.

Do we want to exercise our will and to have a democratic, parliamentary president who is uncorrupted and who insists on remaining uncorrupted?

Or do we want to turn him into another [kind of] president who can govern and assume power? Do we want to change his grip on the situation?

Do we want to continue pushing him abroad in search for power? Or do we want to

give him the power after we've given him the mandate? Do we open the doors to him so he can see what he can do, or do we force him to break down these doors?

Should the Lebanese make a move toward him, or should we let him move toward the Lebanese republics that are scattered like a disease in the body of the first republic?

When do we give the president an opportunity?

When do we give him the power to stand up to the occupation?

What nationalism is this that makes nationalists tear up a country that is under occupation?

Who is stealing from the state while it is negotiating for its liberation with the whole world, negotiating for its right to have one national representation?

Who are those people who talk about freedom from the state in the face of the slavery of occupation?

The talk about occupation is not a ploy to ensure support for Amin al-Jumayyil.

Amin al-Jumayyil knows that the republic in its entirety is for him. The war of the republic, that is, the war of its citizens is his battle but not his war. It is his odyssey. But the war of the republics is the war of all Lebanon from the farthest point south to the farthest point north.

8592

CSO: 4404/438

INDUSTRIAL SURVEY CONTROVERSY DISCUSSED

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 313, 2-8 May 83 pp 39-40

[Article by 'Ali Yusuf: "Awarding the Project Has Not Put an End to the Controversy Surrounding It"]

[Text] The industrialists reject allowing a private firm to implement the project, and this may lead to aborting the project.

After 5 years of debate has gone on concerning the matter, Mr George Afram, the minister of industry and oil, has signed an agreement awarding the industrial survey project to the MAS Studies Company, a firm owned by Mr 'Abduh Qa'i and Mr Joseph al-Khuri.

The agreement was signed after several meetings had been held with representatives of the European Common Market which had agreed to finance the project and allocated to it a total of about 4 million Lebanese pounds after the General Directorate of Industry and the Association of Lebanese Industrialists had made a study concerning its estimated costs.

The awarding of this contract, although it decided a large-scale dispute concerning the project, nearly led to the European Common Market withdrawing its financing of the project. The awarding of the contract opened up another big dispute which may lead to aborting the project and rendering it devoid of its content. The purpose of the project is to make a real study of the situation of the industrial sector. So far the industrial sector has been developing and stumbling around in a haphazard and spontaneous manner which has been subject to unorganized individual initiatives which, from time to time, lead this sector into situations where it is faced with problems with which it is unable to cope. This debate falls within the framework of the dispute which has been going on during the past few years. About a year ago the previous minister [of industry and oil], Muhammad Yusuf Baydun, wanted to award this same project to the Center for Studies and Documentation in the Beirut Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The dispute has arisen because Lebanon's industrialists reject the idea of awarding this project to a private firm. The industrialists feel that there are a number of fundamental justifications for this attitude of theirs, the most important of which are the following:



1. Refusal by the industrial establishments to give a private firm information concerning the industrial establishments.
2. Fear on the part of these establishments that this information would subsequently be utilized to promote the interests of competing establishments which either are already in existence or might be established in the future.
3. Lack of confidence on the part of the industrialists in the capability of the firm which might be awarded the contract.
4. Lack of certainty on the part of the industrialists that the firm which would be awarded the contract would observe sufficient confidentiality concerning the statistics.
5. The possibility that false information would be provided to the firm by the industrial establishments and that this would render the project useless and lead it to reach false conclusions which, if adopted, might harm the situation as far as the industrial policy of the industrial sector as a whole is concerned.

#### Other options

People in the industrial circles are wondering what it is that led the Ministry of Industry and Oil to search for a private firm to award the project to--since there are official government organizations which are capable of doing the project. In fact, one of the basic tasks of such government organizations is that of studying the situation of industry and establishing the necessary industrial policies.

The organizations which these circles are referring to are the following: the Directorate of Statistics, the Industrial Studies Council, and the Statistics Department of the Central Bank of Lebanon.

People in these industrial circles are saying that implementation of the industrial survey project by organizations such as these would serve to open up the way for development of these official organizations which, so far, have not been undertaking the national role expected of them. This particularly applies to the Industrial Studies Council, one of the basic goals of which is to undertake research concerning means of achieving economic, technological, and technical development of industry.

These circles of people are of the opinion that awarding the contract to an official government organization would serve to maintain the officially sanctioned confidentiality of the statistics--a confidentiality which parallels the policy of confidentiality pursued by banks. Furthermore, these circles feel that the official organizations are in a position to impose fines and penalties on industrial organizations which provide them with false information about their condition--the aim on their part being to misrepresent their condition for the purpose of promoting their advertising and commercial marketing.

These circles also emphasize the fact that awarding the contract for the project to a private firm is a violation of the law and that this will also necessarily lead to aborting the project--a project which is a national economic and industrial necessity.

## A Call to Halt the Awarding of the Project

Industrial circles in the Association of Lebanese Industrialists are calling for a serious initiative to be taken to stop the awarding of this contract after voices were heard calling for a boycott and for refusal to supply information concerning the condition of the industrial establishments to a private firm. This is something which will lead to aborting the project before it gets under way at all.

In addition to this, there has emerged a number of objections to some features in the contract signed by the ministry and the MAS Studies Company. These objections revolve around the following points:

1. The contract calls for the payment of a total of 1.2 million Lebanese pounds--that is, about 22 percent of the value of the performance of the contract, which totals 4.375 million Lebanese pounds--after the survey questionnaire has been prepared. We should bear in mind that the final form of the questionnaire has been prepared, although it is subject to modification by the firm which has been awarded the project. This does not take into consideration the possibility that the firm might not be capable of completing the project.
2. The firm which has been awarded the project is the organization which will select the experts and specialists who will be working in the project.
3. It is not clear what means the Ministry of Industry and Oil will utilize to check up on the work performed by the firm.
4. It is not clear what role the Association of Lebanese Industrialists will play in the performance of the project.

Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that these objections are based on unconfirmed information since the wording of the contract is apparently still being kept secret and since warnings have been given not to divulge the wording of the contract [to persons not authorized to know it].

9468

CSO: 4404/369

## BRIEFS

CIVIL SERVICE PURGE--A source close to the government is talking about a fundamental purge that is going to be carried out in the civil service--a purge that will be the first of its type to be witnessed by the government's organizations. He said that official bodies are expecting the purge actions to involve between 30 and 40 percent of the officials in Categories 1 and 2. He added that the criticism which has been directed at some of the measures that have been taken so far has not affected the plan established to carry out the fundamental purge in the civil service. After carrying out the purge the government will be prepared to respond to any questions asked by members of the National Assembly and to participate in any public discussion in the National Assembly. Former President Camille Sham'un has informed some of his friends that he doubts that the government is capable of carrying out the purge "that it is talking so much about." He said that the measures will be limited to dismissing a number of officials of various ranks because the [public] interest requires that their services be dispensed with. He added that, under the current government administration, the country will see "the greatest number of civil service appointments that the nation's history has ever known," and that this will take place under the veil of the motto of "achieving reform and reorganization of the civil service." [Text] [Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 312, 25 Apr-1 May 83 p 11] 9468

AL-AS'AD-SALAM FEUD--Politicians have described the dinner party, which was hosted by Mr Joseph Skaff to make peace between Kamal al-As'ad, president of the National Assembly, and former Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam--with Ambassador Ghassan Tuwayni, the general coordinator of the negotiations, also being present--as not having achieved its intended objective. They added that the dispute between al-As'ad and Salam is an old dispute which revolves around fundamental issues, and that it is difficult both for [al-As'ad's] National Assembly to abandon its point of view and for Salam to give up the principles that he follows in his political work. They went on to say that al-As'ad is no longer enthusiastic about the idea of removing Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan from the government after Salam has joined the throng of those demanding his removal. They also said that the matter is not one of causing harm, but rather a matter of the [public] interest, and that, now that Salam has joined the initiative to oust al-Wazzan, the [public] interest requires that al-As'ad remain devoted to the government which is opposed by Salam. [Text] [Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 312, 25 Apr-1 May 83 p 11] 9468

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS--In a conversation with a number of the members of the National Assembly, Kamal al-As'ad, president of the National Assembly, stated that President Amin al-Jumayyil was very distressed that circumstances were not going to allow him to hold elections on the date that he was expecting to hold them--between mid-May and mid-June. Al-As'ad also said that President al-Jumayyil considered the holding of elections during this time to be a fundamental issue. One of the assemblymen asked him if it was likely that the elections would be held next spring, and the president of the National Assembly answered that there was nothing to prevent the elections from being held at the end of the summer of this year, if total withdrawal [of the foreign forces in Lebanon] takes place before the end of July. [Text] [Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 312, 25 Apr-1 May 83 p 11] 9468

PHALANGE MEMBERSHIP--Sources in the Phalange Party have declined to set a date for resuming the acceptance of applications submitted by persons desiring to join the Phalange Party. They said that the reason for the decision made to stop accepting new members in the party was the huge number of applications that have been submitted. These sources anticipated that a committee would be assigned the job of examining the applications submitted and conducting a large-scale investigation of the reasons responsible for this great demand to join the party. [Text] [Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 313, 2-8 May 83 p 11] 9468

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT--Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan has stated that the result of consultations which have been held is that it has been decided not to make any changes in the civil service retirement system which requires that employees retire at the age of 64. He said that several proposals had been submitted concerning lowering the retirement age, but that it had been decided to maintain the present system. The prime minister added that one thing intended to be done was the taking of measures to enable employees of retirement age and dismissed employees to receive a higher rate of retirement pay and compensation--with this rate not being affected by [other] additional compensation. The source quoting Prime Minister al-Wazzan mentioned that the prime minister had stated that the legislative decree dealing with the civil service had been prepared and that it included provisions guaranteed to provide an incentive for employees to retire. The source also said that the prime minister refused to go into details since the cabinet had not yet made its final decision concerning these provisions. The source mentioned that its information indicated that the legislative decree stipulates that employees give 2 months notice before retiring and that they receive additional compensation of 1 month's salary for each 3 years of service. The source also said that the decree would allow the government a period of 2 months to decide whether to accept or reject an employee's retirement resignation and to dismiss any employee who wishes to resign from the civil service without granting him the right to receive additional compensation. The source added that Prime Minister al-Wazzan is optimistic concerning the government's ability to achieve an important reform in the civil service in accordance with this legislative decree. [Text] [Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 313, 2-8 May 83 p 11] 9468

FRENCH AID--The French ambassador, Paul Marc Henri, in a conversation with some Lebanese friends, said that he expected the French government to proceed to significantly increase the amount of military and economic aid it is providing to Lebanon after the completion of the first stage of the withdrawal of the foreign troops. The ambassador said that the new aid would be limited to the scientific and economic fields. One of the ambassador's friends said that the ambassador does not want to have this anticipated aid a part of the 600-million-franc French loan agreement which will be utilized for supplying the army with weapons as well as for training a number of officers in France. [Text] [Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 312, 25 Apr-1 May 83 p 35] 9468

BID INVITATIONS IN FRENCH--A number of contractors and owners of contracting firms have let the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation know of their objection to the fact that the ministry has embarked upon issuing its announcements concerning awarding contracts for projects and the bid invitations concerning them only in French. The former feel that this is a violation of the law in view of the fact that Arabic is the nation's official language. [Text] [Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 312, 25 Apr-1 May 83 p 35] 9468

CSO: 4404/369

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

DETERIORATING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN 'ARAFAT, SYRIA EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 177, 2-8 Jul 83 pp 12-13

[Article by Muhammad Ma'tuq and Salih Qallab from Damascus: "The Battle for the Independence of the Palestinian Decision; Secrets of the Rift between Yasir 'Arafat and Damascus; Palestinian Official Says, 'Departure from al-Biqa' Leaves Palestinians Out of the Settlement;' Abu Musa Contacted Abu 'Ammar and Asked Him Not To Travel on a Dangerous Road"]

[Text] The rift between Syria and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat is a serious development in the crisis of the Palestinian Resistance. It is a serious turning point in the battle for the independence of the Palestinian decision. Through its various sources AL-MAJALLAH has been observing this battle and this crisis. The following report [is the result of this observation]. The report, which goes behind the scenes of the closed Palestinian meetings, is being published with an important and comprehensive interview with Khalil al-Wazir, [alias] Abu Jihad, the deputy general commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution. The report follows.

There was nothing to justify the optimistic tone that characterized the statements made by some Palestinian officials on the eve of the fourth meeting of the Palestinian Revolutionary Council in Damascus. One of these officials informed AL-MAJALLAH that the crisis which grew out of the rebellion by a number of Fatah officers against the orders of the movement's leaders, a rebellion which began last May 10, had almost been brought under control. He said that the decisive 48 hours had ended peacefully despite the armed clashes that had taken place in Hamudiyah Camp near Damascus. During those clashes forces loyal to Fatah's leaders had the upper hand. Coincidentally, the 48 hours that followed the meeting of the Revolutionary Council, which representatives of the rebels did not attend, were the decisive hours. The crisis had just begun prior to the meeting. No sooner was the meeting adjourned than the rebels were reacting to the military defeat they had suffered 2 days earlier. They launched a broad operation during which they were able to gain control of eight of Fatah's military posts between al-Masna' on the Lebanese-Syrian borders, and Shtura. These eight posts include Fatah's command center, in Majdal 'Anjar which controls the land route between Damascus and Beirut. When Fatah leader and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat was informed of these developments, he did not take the al-Masna'-Shtura route on his way to al-Biqa'. Instead, he took the long and arduous road to Tripoli by way of Homs. AL-MAJALLAH's private information indicates that 'Arafat received a telephone call from the leader of the military rebellion in Fatah, Col Abu Musa,

"begging him not to travel on al-Masna' route because undisciplined elements were lying in wait on the side of the road." Abu Musa told 'Arafat his life was in danger.

'Arafat thus returned to Tripoli. From there, where the forces of the Palestinian Resistance have more freedom of movement, he began making accusations against Syria, and he said the Syrians "had stabbed him in the back." He is also reported to have sent a letter to President Hafiz al-Asad asking him to interfere [in the situation]. In that letter 'Arafat inquired about "the conduct of Syrian forces stationed in al-Biq'a vis a vis the forces of the Palestinian Revolution." This is the conduct that was thought to constitute a serious change in the position of these forces in favor of Ahmad Jabril's group and the dissidents. What is meant by Jabril's group are the fighters of the General Command of the Popular Front, which is allied with Syria and Libya. Fatah's leaders accused this group of joining rebel forces in attacking the 8 posts, arresting 30 members of Fatah and turning them over to Syrian forces.

'Arafat sent other letters about Syria's role in the armed clashes between the rebels and the supporters of Fatah's leaders to the kings, presidents and princes of Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, North Yemen, South Yemen, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iraq and the Arab League. He also sent other letters to the presidents of India, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Ethiopia and Cyprus. 'Arafat asked all those leaders to mediate between Fatah and Syria to preserve the unity of the Palestinian Resistance Movement. Along the same lines Faruq al-Qadumi, [alias] Abu al-Lutf, member of Fatah's Central Committee and member of the PLO Executive Committee began a tour of Europe. This European tour began with a visit to Greece. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that Greek President Papandreou contacted both 'Arafat and al-Asad in an attempt to close the rift in relations between the two sides. The countries whose leaders received letters from 'Arafat responded to the appeals that were made [in those letters] by the Palestinian leader. Official and semi-official statements were issued in Iraq, Jordan, Algeria and Tunisia supporting the preservation of Fatah's unity. Damascus, meanwhile, received a number of Arab envoys. The most notable of them was Prince Bandar ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz who conveyed a message to al-Asad from King Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the monarch of Saudi Arabia. Another envoy was Kuwait's minister of foreign affairs who conveyed another message to the Syrian president from al-Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that intense communications were conducted between Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco in preparation for a joint effort to reconcile Syria and Fatah's leaders. In this context Algeria's president Chadli Bendjedid contacted by telephone President al-Asad, Syria's minister of foreign affairs, 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam; and 'Arafat. AL-MAJALLAH's information attributed to Khaddam a statement about the fact that Syrian forces had not intervened on behalf of the dissidents, but rather on behalf of 'Arafat. Khaddam said, "We have always taken it upon ourselves to protect 'Arafat. Now, however, we will remove the protection from him, and after today we will not be responsible for what happens to him." Chadli Bendjedid informed Syrian officials that Algeria identified with the Liberation Organization and recognized no Palestinian leader other than 'Arafat.

For his part 'Arafat provided the Algerian president during the telephone conversation with information whose upshot was that on Tuesday evening after the eight posts between al-Masna' and Shtura were occupied, Fatah officials contacted the

Syrians and informed them that their tanks were moving towards Palestinian positions and shelling them. The Syrians' response was that this was a personal action taken by the commander of Syrian troops in al-Biqa', Brig Gen 'Ali al-Hasan, former commander of the missiles batteries in Syria.

#### Arab Support

All Arab statements that were issued in support of 'Arafat spoke of a conspiracy against the Palestinian Resistance. According to the language of the Jordanian statement there was a well-contrived plan which began before the siege of Beirut and has not yet ended. Its purpose was to destroy the structure of the PLO. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that Jordan contacted the PLO and indicated its willingness to take in all legitimate civilian Palestinian institutions. This [offer] may have been on the minds of some Palestinian officials when they declared, when relations between 'Arafat and al-Asad had reached their lowest point, that there was a tendency to have all the PLO's offices in Syria shut down.

In Tripoli, despite attempts that were made by his aides to keep him calm and to keep his accusatory statements out of the western media, 'Arafat was not able to suppress his fury or conceal his anger at Syria's role and his displeasure with it. 'Arafat gave up his reserve and the reserve of his aides when the subject of Syria and the involvement of its forces in the infighting that was going on in Fatah came up. He did, however, maintain a small measure of reserve by leaving out President al-Asad himself [from his accusations]. 'Arafat said he would not return to Damascus before he gets from the Syrian president an answer to his request that the Syrian forces' intervention on behalf of the rebels cease. These statements provoked Syrian officials who quickly denied having any role in the infighting that was taking place in Fatah. Syrian officials blamed Fatah's leaders for causing the crisis and for letting it spread among the ranks of fighters. Syrian officials accused Fatah's leaders of "shortsightedness," and they said that had they intervened in the fighting the course of events would have been altered drastically. Syrian officials did not stop at the statement they issued absolving themselves of any blame, but they also wanted Palestinian officials to exonerate them. In this context Khaddam summoned the leaders of both the Popular and the Democratic Fronts, George Habash and Nayif Hawatimah. He also summoned Khalid al-Fahum, chairman of the Palestinian National Council and the leaders of other factions. Khaddam asked them to adopt a message that had been prepared in advance denying Syria's involvement in the fighting. Habash, Hawatimah and al-Fahum turned down Khaddam's request despite threats that were made by an official of the General Command (Jabril's group) during the meeting. That official warned that in a matter of days many things would transpire.

The significant development that was noted in the conduct of Damascus after the meeting of the Revolutionary Council was what encouraged Fatah's leaders to make a direct accusation. For the first time since the crisis in Fatah had come out in the open SANA came out on the day following the council's meeting with a statement that was made by "a responsible source in the media" on behalf of Col Sa'id Musa, [alias] Abu Musa, the well-known Palestinian leader in Fatah. The statement declared that Abu Musa had said that the eight posts had been occupied because "the leaders of the Liberation Organization had decided to eliminate the dissidents." The statement made no reference to the role of Syrian forces in al-Biqa'.



Libya is the second country that is being accused of military involvement on the side of the rebels. The Libyans tried to have themselves exonerated, but the only action they could take was to have a statement issued by the rebels or by the "New Revolutionary Fatah Movement," as western Tripoli calls them these days. The statement denied that Libyan forces had anything to do with the clashes between Palestinians in al-Biqa' because these forces were under the command of Syrian troops.

'Arafat did not adhere to the conditions he had set for his return to Damascus. Before 2 days had gone by after his arrival in Tripoli news agencies were reporting that he had arrived unexpectedly in the Syrian capital. Palestinian sources relate that 'Arafat returned to Damascus to receive a message from Soviet Chairman Yuri Andropov about Moscow's position on the crisis that was brewing between Fatah and Syria. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that the letter which 'Arafat received was one of two letters that Andropov had sent: one letter was sent to the Palestinian leader and the other was sent to the Syrian president. The letters urged both leaders to avoid a clash and to reach a quick solution lest there be developments of consequence in the entire Middle East area.

It was stated that 'Arafat met in Damascus with Rif'at al-Asad, the Syrian president's brother and leader of the defense companies. This fact furthered the belief that there were different stances in the government in Damascus on the crisis with Fatah and that Rif'at al-Asad was leading a trend opposite to that led by Khaddam and a few Syrian military officials.

'Arafat spent the night in Damascus while ambushes were laid against 11 Palestinian transports on the Damascus-Homs Road between Ma'lulah and al-Nabak. There were 10 injuries in these ambushes, and 'Arafat subsequently declared that he was the one who was targeted in that convoy which he had not joined. During a meeting he held the following morning with some leaders of the Resistance 'Arafat was notified by Syrian authorities that he was persona non grata in Damascus and that he had to leave the country in 3 hours. This was the first time that a Palestinian leader had faced such a situation. The Palestinian leader packed his bags, and he was escorted to the airport by Syrian security men who put him on the first airplane headed to Tunisia. Palestinian sources told AL-MAJALLAH that 'Arafat had asked that he go to Tripoli in Lebanon, but Syrian authorities had turned him down. 'Arafat's deputy, Khalil al-Wazir, [alias] Abu Jihad was notified that a decision had been made banning him from entering Syrian territory. It has been said that he tried to enter Syrian territory and that he was prevented.

### The Syrian Story

The story of sending 'Arafat away was reported in a few lines in a statement by SANA, Syria's official news agency. The statement mentioned that 'Arafat had been sent away because "he had continued his accusations against Syria, against its sacrifices and its ideological positions. 'Arafat was notified today, Friday 24 June 1983 of Syria's wish that he not return to the country." The statement added, "This does not rule out Syria's concern and its continued action to prevent infighting, to mend the rift and to achieve accord among the Palestinian brothers."

If this is in fact the Syrian mission, it became more complicated and perhaps

[even] impossible after the Syrian decision. With that decision Damascus earned the hostility of the leader of one of the parties to the dispute, and it suspended the dialogue. The decision was a green light for the surfacing of the strangest and the harshest accusations from both the Syrian and Palestinian sides. After the decision was made Syrian newspapers began a virulent media campaign against 'Arafat and his policy. Upon his arrival in Tunisia 'Arafat announced that the decision to send him away from Damascus reminded him of the decision to get him out of Beirut last summer. He was thereby putting the Syrian government and some of those it calls its enemies in one lump.

The meeting of the Revolutionary Council on 20 June was the last Palestinian attempt to put an end to the rebellion within the ranks of Fatah. Fatah's leaders had exhausted all Arab and international mediation efforts to ensure Syria's neutrality. It was this that had encouraged senior officials to appear optimistic on the eve of the Revolutionary Council's meeting which had been postponed twice. The meeting was preceded by two expanded sessions of Fatah's Central Committee which Nimr Salih, [alias] Abu Salih and Samih Kawik, [alias] Qadri did not attend. These sessions were attended by al-Fahum, Habash, Hawatimah and Samir Ghawshah, secretary general of the Palestine Liberation Front and Mr Salih Nasr al-Sayli, the National Security Office officer in South Yemen. After the two sessions al-Fahum and al-Sayli contacted the rebels and tried to persuade them to attend the council meetings after assuring them that the meeting would approve significant organizational changes and issue a strong political statement that would legitimately and in an organized fashion meet the demands of the rebels. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that the three member committee which is chaired by Mahmud al-Ayyubi, member of the Regional Command, took part in the communications that were conducted with the rebels on the eve of the council's meeting. This committee includes Sa'id Hamadi, another member of the same command, and Mahmud al-Za'bi, chairman of the People's Assembly, Syria's parliament.

According to special information conveyed to AL-MAJALLAH al-Fahum and al-Sayli informed Abu Salih that 'Arafat had agreed to the reformation of the military command of Fatah's al-'Asifah [Storm] troops. He approved the drawing up of a rule to regulate the business of the Central Committee and a financial rule to control disbursement operations, and he approved the formation of a committee to question those who were negligent in the war in Lebanon. Information indicates that 'Arafat had not actually approved these suggestions and that it was Abu al-Lutf and Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf), members of the Central Committee, who had approved them. When Abu Salih and Qadri were informed about this development, they appeared surprised, and they said that this went beyond the demands of their movement. They were asking for much less than that, and they added that presenting the matter in this way made them doubt their earnestness. According to AL-MAJALLAH's sources some mediators suggested to 'Arafat that a few regulatory measures be taken in favor of the rebels, but 'Arafat rejected that suggestion because he thought that accepting it would set a dangerous precedent. 'Arafat preferred to have something like that and even more take place through the organizational frameworks instead of through an unacceptable blackmail operation.

In the course of 24 hours al-Sili and al-Fahum met 3 times with Abu Salih and Qadri; they informed them that they would guarantee the implementation of what would be agreed upon at the meeting of the Revolutionary Council. However, the two leaders of the rebellion did not accept this guarantee, and they said that

the only guarantee [they would accept] was the formation of an emergency committee of four people: Abu Jihad, Abu Iyyad, Abu Salih and Qadri. This committee was to be given absolute authority; it would run the operations of the movement; and it would attend the fifth general congress. This suggestion was made again early this week by Abu Musa.

Mediators would go back to 'Arafat after each attempt to get his opinion on the proposals that were being made by the rebels. Mediators received from 'Arafat his assurance that all the rebels would be reinstated and that none of them would be renounced. However, 'Arafat added that he would not stand with his hands tied behind his back forever.

#### The Operations Room

Members of the Revolutionary Council who had joined the rebellion were invited by Council Chairman Sakhr Abu Nizar [to attend the meeting]. Mr Nizar himself assured AL-MAJALLAH of this on the basis of the fact that no disciplinary decision had been issued against any of the rebels, thus precluding them from receiving an invitation. However, rebel sources affirmed that they had not received any invitation [to attend the meeting]. Therefore, when the Revolutionary Council was convened, the eight members did not attend the meeting. Abu Salih, Qadri, Abu Musa, Muhammad 'Awwad, [alias] Abu Akram, Mahdi Basisu, Lt Col Wasif 'Ariqat, Lt Col Ziyad al-Saghir and council secretary, Abu Khalid al-'Umlah were the eight members who did not attend. It was learned that the rebels set up their own operations room at the offices of the Palestinian-Soviet Friendship Committee in Damascus to monitor the council's activities.

It was not necessary to attend the council's meetings to find out what had happened. Arguments that took place during the meetings were clearly heard on the neighboring street, [near] the place where the meeting was being held. During the meeting that lasted 7 hours, the 55 members who were present out of a total membership of 73 were divided into three factions. One of them, led by Abu Jihad, was calling for a firm hand and the expulsion of the rebels from the movement. Three members spoke for this faction: Fatah's general political authorized agent, al-Tayyib 'Abd-al-Rahim; the director of the PLO office in West Germany, 'Abdallah al-Afranji; and the military intelligence official, 'Ata 'Atallah, [alias] Abu al-Za'im. The second faction regarded the rebellion a mere boisterous protest; this faction called for reforms and opposed penalties that could cause division. Speaking for this faction were the secretary general of the Association of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, Yahya Khalaf and the president of the General Association of Palestinian Women, May Sayigh. The third faction was led by Abu Iyyad and Abu al-Lutf; Sakhr Basisu, director of the Liberation Organization's office in Yugoslavia spoke for this faction and asked that hardliners on both sides be punished.

The proposal to establish an emergency committee was presented to the Revolutionary Council, and it was turned down because it would lead to "the dissolution of all the movement's frameworks and institutions. This would be objectionable to every fighter in our movement because it would mean the dissolution and demise of Fatah." An agreement was reached to issue a political statement defining the positions on the questions that are in dispute: talks with Jordan, the Fes resolutions, the Reagan plan and talks with Egypt. In this regard the council

adhered to the resolutions of the last Palestinian National Council that was held in Algeria. The Reagan plan was rejected outright. The statement warned Col Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi against interfering in Palestinian internal affairs. The statement rejected the agreement between Lebanon and Israel and placed more emphasis on the alliance with the Soviet Union. The council also adopted a set of regulatory measures among which were the formation of committees to monitor the movement, protect the membership and exercise financial control. A revolutionary security court was formed to evaluate the war in Lebanon and [look into] questions of conduct violations. A steering committee for the movement's fifth congress was also formed. It has been learned that the council decided to invite the rebels to take part in the work of the steering committee for the congress.

Two days before the council was convened Abu Iyyad made statements to the press referring accurately to the decisions that would come out of his fourth meeting. He also referred to the fact that changes in the offices of the Liberation Organization abroad were being contemplated. AL-MAJALLAH has learned that at the end of the meeting Abu Iyyad suggested that the Central Committee be granted the authorities of the Revolutionary Council and that tasks be distributed among its members until the general congress of the movement is convened. That proposal was approved.

According to the bylaws of Fatah, the Revolutionary Council, whose authorities are the same as those of the general congress, has the authority to monitor the operations of the Central Committee and suspend or expel members of the committee. Decisions made by the Revolutionary Council are subject [to approval by] a subsequent general congress which may question committee members individually or collectively. At the present time the Revolutionary Council has 73 members: 36 members were elected by the Fourth General Congress that was convened in 1980, and the rest include members of the Supreme Military Council plus qualified military and administrative personnel chosen by the Military Council and the Central Committee. Among the non-elected members of the Revolutionary Council are six members from the popular associations. The secretary generals of the remaining associations attend council meetings as observers. But the Central Committee has 13 members. The bylaws provide that the congress elect two thirds of its members. However, a Palestinian source who did attend the movement's fourth congress affirmed that everyone, including Abu 'Ammar, Abu Jihad, Abu Iyyad and Abu al-Lutf, had been elected by the congress.

A Dead End Road

What will happen now?

Yasir 'Arafat is prohibited from meeting with the fighters of the movement in al-Biqa' or Tripoli because both the land route and the air route to these two areas in Lebanon have been closed to him due to the recent Syrian decision. The only other way is by sea, and the seaport of Tripoli is under the control of Syrian troops. The open seas, however, are controlled by the ships of the Israeli navy. Relations between Fatah's leaders and Syria have been broken; accordingly, Syria's mediation efforts to mend the rift have been almost completely suspended. Fatah is experiencing internal dissension, and the rebels are divided among themselves. Abu Musa did not break relations with 'Arafat, but AL-MAJALLAH has learned that Qadri stayed at home for 4 days to protest the flow of statements

that a number of persons in the movement's rebellious movement were making. Some of his close associates reported that he said, "We want the new step to take on a radiant image, but it seems that what is happening is a carbon copy of the past." Supporters of the leaders are also divided among themselves: some of them support the reforms that Abu Musa and his group are calling for, asking that maximum flexibility and leniency be used; and others are hard-liners calling for the rebels to be cut off and accepting the reforms knowing that the decisions will soon be frozen because of the developments in events and [the expectation that] matters would remain unchanged.

The Liberation Organization in its entirety is going through a crisis. The General Command, (Jabril's group), the Popular Struggle Front and al-Sa'iqah, which is loyal to Syria, support the rebels, whereas the Popular Front, the Democratic Front and the Palestine Liberation Front stand alongside Fatah's unity. This is what is making the situation of Fatah's leaders and the PLO's leaders similar to that of one walking through a minefield. This is particularly evident in a political sense. Any moderate step taken by Fatah's leaders will change the positions of sympathizers, those who support the movement's unity; and any stern step could get the Liberation Organization out of the settlement proposals that are being made for the Middle East crisis.

#### The United States and Israel

The position of Fatah and of the Liberation Organization in light of the rebellion was examined in Washington in the meetings of the four ambassadors. U.S. envoy to the Middle East, Philip Habib; his assistant Morris Draper; and assistant secretary for [the Bureau of] Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Nicholas Veliotis took part in those meetings. The prevailing view at those meetings was that the rebellion was making 'Arafat unable to take action, and this would encourage King Husayn and Palestinian figures on the West Bank and Gaza to take part in expanded talks with Israel and Egypt. However, Jordanian sources in Washington informed AL-MAJALLAH that this was unlikely. The Jordanian king would not take such a step knowing that the crisis within Fatah was temporary.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who met with the four ambassadors separately, did not hide the fact that he was pleased about the rebellion. He declared that in statements he made recently to the press. In those statements Shultz claimed that Syria's control over the Liberation Organization was now underway. Shultz announced on the same occasion that Syria had informed Washington of its desire to hold talks with Washington. He said that Damascus still had reservations about Philip Habib and that Washington was looking for an envoy to take his place. This new envoy would be sent to the Syrian capital. It has been rumored that Shultz, who will stop in the Middle East on his way back from Southeast Asia, may make a personal visit to Damascus.

Israel too was satisfied with the situation. This satisfaction was expressed by Yitzhak Shamir, Israel's minister of foreign affairs and by Ariel Sharon, minister without portfolio. These two men who make no distinctions between the two factions of Fatah considered what was happening within Fatah one of the results of the war in Lebanon. They think it will facilitate the resumption of the autonomy talks in which Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza will participate.

A prominent Palestinian official from Fatah told AL-MAJALLAH that behind the rebellion in Fatah was an American plan to get the PLO out of the settlement. He added that getting the Palestinian Resistance out of al-Biqa' meant the Palestinian Resistance would be left out of the settlement. In his opinion the Syrians know that what will be gained from the next war in which the Liberation Organization will take part will be reflected in the political gains that will be made after the war. Again in the opinion of that Palestinian official the Syrians do not want to share with the Liberation Organization the spoils of the war and the political gains that will come after the war. The Palestinian official said that the Liberation Organization would not leave al-Biqa' even if the Syrians and the Lebanese wanted them to. The Liberation Organization would not withdraw from Lebanon now regardless of the cost. In his words, "We are now at the end of the race. These are the last 10 meters of the race, and the crucial point will be the end [of that race]."

The Palestinian official's stance is based on a new Soviet stance. He says that the late Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev "was in collusion with the United States." His present successor, Andropov, however, is "completely different. The support he gave us has been incredible." The Palestinian official went on to say, "The Soviets informed us that 1985 will be a decisive year because it is the year of international detente." The Palestinian official gave an example of Soviet support for Fatah: Syria and Libya had tried to set up relations between the Soviets and Palestinian organizations other than Fatah. The Soviets told Fatah leaders about this; Fatah's leaders asked Moscow to rebuff those attempts; and the Soviets complied.

It remains to be said that Syria's position is not its final one. Arab and international support for 'Arafat will exert considerable pressure on Damascus to reconsider its decision. According to Faysal 'Awaydah, a PLO representative in London, "In Arab politics one does not burn bridges permanently. Sooner or later matters will return to their course and things will go back to normal" particularly if the Syrians remain convinced that there can be no solution to the Middle East crisis without an effective Soviet role.

The question that still lingers beyond the storm is this: will 'Arafat be victorious in the battle for the independence of the Palestinian decision? 'Arafat was told that he would have to choose between victory in the battle of independence and losing the unity of the organization--this would make a victory academic and worthless--and losing his battle and winning the organization--and this would make the existence of the organization academic and worthless. So far the battle is still raging, and it would be best to wait until the dust settles.

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CSO: 4404/490

PAPER REPORTS ON RANGOON BANQUET, ERSHAD SPEECH

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 13 May 83 pp 1, 8, 3

[Text]

**RANGOON, May 12:** The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad said here today that Bangladesh had been making unremitting efforts to create an atmosphere of goodwill, trust and mutual understanding with its neighbours, reports BSS.

"Our conscious plan and persistent efforts for a structured multi-sectoral co-operation among the South Asian countries have produced most gratifying results so far," he said, expressing the confidence that the South Asian regional co-operation would become a reality in the near future.

Speaking at a banquet given in his honour by the host Prime Minister, U Maung Maung Kha here at the President's house, the CMLA reiterated Bangladesh's firm commitment to the principles of sovereign equality of nations, respect for territorial integrity of states, non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. "Like Burma, Bangladeshis committed to the cause of peace stability and progress in the region in particular and the world at large," he said adding, "We firmly believe that only through persistent efforts we can create a more peaceful, secure and equitable world order."

Gen. Ershad said both Bangladesh and Burma linked by centuries old historical and cultural ties were making common endeavours to promote the cause

of peace, security and progress and had strongly advocated the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity. "While we cherish peace, we cannot but express our deep concern at the deteriorating international situation," he added.

**AFGHANISTAN, KAMPUCHEA**

In this context, the CMLA referred to the Afghan and Kampuchean situation and reiterated the call for a political solution. Such a solution cannot be achieved without an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops and allowing the peoples there to decide their own fate without any external interference and intervention, he added.

Welcoming the Arab peace plan as a sound basis for attaining lasting peace in West Asia, Gen. Ershad said that a just and durable peace in that region could only be achieved by Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories including the Holy City of Jerusalem, realisation of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people including their right to have an independent state in their homeland under the leadership of PLO and restoration of Al-Quds Al-Shrif to Islamic and Arab sovereignty.

The CMLA renewed Bangladesh's appeal to Iran and Iraq for an immediate cessation of hostilities and end the fratricidal

war which he observed was not only harming them but posed a threat to the peace and security to the region. He reaffirmed Bangladesh's pledge to support all efforts to bring about an amicable just and honourable solution of the dispute.

Extending Bangladesh support to the U.N. resolution on the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, Gen. Ershad hoped that conditions would be created for holding the proposed international conference on Indian Ocean in Colombo.

#### NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The CMLA said as a non-aligned country, Bangladesh as long with other like-minded nations, had been making sincere efforts to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the movement in line with its original and authentic principles. He noted with happiness that the New Delhi non-aligned summit had made positive contribution towards the realisation of that goal demonstrating its vitality and non-block character as well as its irreplaceable role in safeguarding peace and security in the world.

Turning to the friendly bonds imbibed with warm spirit of cordiality and rooted in history between Bangladesh and Burma, Gen. Ershad said that since the establishment of diplomatic ties, the relations between the two countries had been characterised by close friendship, mutual trust and meaningful co-operation. "Exchange of visits at the leadership level has contributed to the deepening of harmonious relations," he added.

The CMLA referred to the conclusion of "mutually beneficial" agreements between Bangladesh and Burma on general trade, air services, border arrangement and supplementary protocol on the Naaf River international boundary which were ratified by both the countries within the shortest possible time and said, these demonstrated the good neighbourliness characterising our relations.

Gen. Ershad mentioned the peaceful and friendly resolution

of the problems of repatriation of refugees in 1978 and said, it had manifested that no obstacle could stand in the way of "our friendly relations" and had added strength and substance to the bilateral ties.

The CMLA lauded the efforts of the Burmese government to bring about all-round economic and social development and told of his sincere conviction that the friendly people of Burma under the "wise, inspiring and able guidance" of their leaders would achieve greater progress and prosperity.

Informing about his government's massive programme of nation-building Gen. Ershad told about decentralisation of administration for taking it to the rural Bangladesh consisting of 68 thousand villages where 90 per cent of the population live in. He also mentioned about decentralisation of judiciary for speedy and effective dispensation of justice, "side by side, we are making relentless efforts for the attainment of our cherished goal of economic self-reliance and raising the quality of lives of our people," he added.

Gen. Ershad concluded expressing his confidence that the objective of his visit here would be accomplished by further deepening of "our time tested friendship."

Burmese Cabinet Ministers, high civil and military officials and members of the Bangladesh delegation attended the banquet.

The banquet was followed by a neatly presented cultural show.

#### TEXT

Following is the text of the speech of Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad, Chief Martial Law Administrator of the People's Republic of Bangladesh at the banquet hosted in his honour by His Excellency U Maung Maung Kha, Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, Your Excellency U Maung Maung Kha, Excellencies and Distinguished Guests.

I am indeed extremely happy to have this opportunity of paying my first visit to our friendly neighbouring country, the Socialist Republic of the



Union of Burma, at the cordial invitation of Your Excellency Mr. Prime Minister. I bring with me the fraternal greetings and sincere good wishes from the people of Bangladesh for the friendly people of Burma.

The warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to me and the members of my delegation have been most heart-warming and profoundly demonstrates the goodwill that your great country holds for Bangladesh. I am deeply touched by the friendly sentiments which Your Excellency have just expressed. Allow me, Excellency, to express, on behalf of my wife, the members of my delegation as well as on my own behalf, our sincere thanks to you and to the friendly Government of Burma for the courtesies shown and hospitality extended to us.

#### EXCELLENCY

The friendship between Bangladesh and Burma is centuries old. We are historically linked and culturally tied. These bonds have always been imbued with a warm spirit of cordiality between our two peoples. Since the establishment of diplomatic ties, our relations have been characterised by close friendship, mutual trust and meaningful cooperation. Exchange of visits at the leadership level has contributed to the deepening of our harmonious relations. We remember with fondness the visits of His Excellency U Ne Win to Bangladesh in April, 1974, May, 1979 and November, 1980 which have been important milestones in the annals of our relations.

The mutually beneficial agreements concluded between Bangladesh and Burma adequately reflect the nature and extent of our cooperation. The General Trade Agreement signed in 1973 has enabled us to expand our commercial exchanges and placed them on a stable basis. The Air Services Agreement concluded in 1977 has brought our two neighbouring countries even closer together through an aerial bridge.

The signing of the Agreement on Border Arrangements and Cooperation in 1978 and the Supplementary Protocol on the Naaf River International Boundary in 1980 have contributed

to the maintenance of peace and tranquility on our common border. The Land Boundary Agreement concluded in 1979 has indeed been a landmark in development of our bilateral relations. This agreement was ratified by the two countries within the shortest possible time and actually implemented on the ground with the successful completion of the posting of boundary pillars in December, 1982. This has been a major accomplishment for both the countries and demonstrates the good neighbourliness which characterise our relations.

The peaceful and friendly manner in which our two neighbouring countries succeeded in resolving the problems of repatriation of the refugees in 1978 is a shining example of good neighbourly relations and demonstrates that no obstacle can stand in the way of our friendly relations. The resolution of a humanitarian problem of great magnitude has added strength and substance to our relations.

#### EXCELLENCY,

As friends and close neighbour, we have been watching with deep interest and admiration the laudable efforts made by the Burmese Government to bring about all-round economic and social development. It is my sincere conviction that the friendly people of Burma will, under the wise, inspiring and able guidance of their leaders, achieve greater progress and prosperity.

We, in Bangladesh, have undertaken the massive task of nation building. With a view to ensuring the common people's association with the administration and development activities, we have launched a programme of decentralization to take the administration to rural Bangladesh consisting of 68,000 villages where 90 per cent of our people live. We have also decentralized the High Court of Judicature in order to make the administration and dispensation of justice speedy and effective. Side by side, we are making relentless efforts for the attainment of our cherished goal of economic self-reliance and raising the quality of the lives of our people.

Bangladesh is firmly committed to the principles of sovereign equality of nations, respect for territorial integrity of states, non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Like Burma, Bangladesh is committed to the cause of peace, stability and progress in the region in particular and the world at large. We firmly believe that only through persistent efforts we can create a more peaceful, secure and equitable world order.

Bangladesh has been making unremitting efforts to create an atmosphere of goodwill, trust and mutual understanding in her own neighbourhood. Our conscious plan and persistent efforts for a structured multi-sectoral cooperation among the South Asian countries have produced most gratifying results so far. We are confident that South Asian Regional Cooperation will become a reality in the near future.

While we cherish peace, we cannot but express our deep concern at the deteriorating international situation. We are concerned over the continued presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea and Afghanistan and reiterate our call for a political solution. Such a solution cannot be achieved without an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops and allowing the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea to decide their own fate without any external interference and intervention.

The situation in West Asia has assumed an alarming magnitude because of Israel's continued aggression against and the occupation of Lebanon. We reiterate our firm belief that a just and durable peace in West Asia can be achieved only on the basis of Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories including the Holy City of Jerusalem, realisation of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people including their right to have an independent state in their own homeland under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, their sole and legitimate representative, and the restoration of Al-Quds Al-Sharif to Islamic and Arab sovereignty.

We welcome the Arab Peace Plan as a sound basis for attaining lasting peace in the region.

The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq has not only been causing great harm to them but poses a threat to peace and security to the region. While renewing our appeal to Iran and Iraq for an immediate cessation of hostilities, we reaffirm our pledge to support all efforts to bring about an amicable, just and honourable solution of the dispute.

In pursuance of the policy of advancing the cause of peace and security Bangladesh supports the UN Resolution on declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We do hope that conditions will soon be created for holding the proposed International Conference on Indian Ocean in Colombo.

As a Non-aligned country, Bangladesh, along with other like minded nations, has been making sincere efforts to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Movement in line with its original and authentic principles. I am happy to note that the recently held Seventh Non-aligned Summit Conference in New Delhi has made a positive contribution to the realisation of this goal and demonstrated the vitality and non-bloc character of the Movement as well as its irreplaceable role in safeguarding peace and security in the world.

#### EXCELLENCY

It is a matter of immense satisfaction that Bangladesh and Burma hold similar views on most of the important regional and global problems and issues. We are making common endeavours to promote the cause of peace security and progress, and have strongly advocated the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on justice and equity.

I am also gratified to note that the flowers of our friendship have blossomed with great splendour in the recent years. I have come to Burma with the objective of further deepening our time-tested friendship and I am confident that I will leave your great country with a sense of mission accomplished and a vision fulfilled.

**EXCELLENCIES AND  
DISTINGUISHED GUESTS.**

May I request you to join  
me in a toast :

- to the progress and prosperity of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma ;
- to the health, happiness and long life of His Excellency President U San Yu of Burma ;
- to the health, happiness and long life of His Excellency U Maung Maung Kha, Prime Minister of Burma and Madam Maung Maung Kha ;
- to the everlasting friendship between the peoples of Bangladesh and Burma ; and
- to the health and well-being of all the distinguished guests present here tonight.

CSO: 4600/1252

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON ERSHAD VISIT TO BURMA

Meeting on Boundary

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 May 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Bangladesh and Burma reaffirmed their desire to intensify efforts for further strengthening and consolidating the friendship and cooperation reports BSS.

This was contained in the joint communique issued simultaneously from Dhaka and Rangoon at the conclusion of the two-day goodwill visit of the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H.M. Ershad to Burma.

The two countries expressed deep satisfaction at the positive development of good neighbourly relations between them. They also expressed their firm conviction that Bangladesh-Burma border would always remain one of peace and tranquillity in keeping with the spirit of everlasting friendship.

The communique said that at the talks during the visit, both Gen. Ershad and Burmese Premier U Maung Maung Kha underscored that Bangladesh and Burma were bound by the traditional ties of geography, history and culture. They expressed gratification at the conclusion of various mutually beneficial agreements on general trade, air service demarcation of the Naff river boundary, border arrangements and cooperation and on land boundary.

The two sides expressed their firm conviction that any negotiations to be held between the two countries in future would likewise result in successful conclusion in keeping with the spirit of good neighbourliness, friendship, mutual understanding and complete trust.

While reviewing the international situation, the two leaders noted with satisfaction the similarity of views on many of the issues. Both the leaders also reaffirmed their two governments' firm commitment to the cause of peace and progress in the region in particular and the world at large.

Both the leaders reiterated their full support for the 1971 UN Resolution of Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and expressed the hope that conditions would soon be created for the successful holding of the proposed conference on Indian Ocean in Colombo.

The CMLA expressed understanding and appreciation of Burma's efforts in promoting peace and good neighbourliness while the Burmese Prime Minister appreciated the initiatives taken by Bangladesh for promoting cooperation among South Asian countries as contributing to the betterment of the quality of life of the peoples of the region.

The two leaders expressed concern over the continuing deterioration of the international economic situation and recognised the need for the developing nations to explore all possible avenues for strengthening mutually beneficial cooperation amongst themselves. While reaffirming their commitment to the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity both leaders underscored their determination to continue to strengthen their efforts in international fora for the attainment of this objective.

The Burmese Prime Minister noted with satisfaction that the visit of the CMLA had made a significant contribution to the further deepening of the time-tested friendship, understanding and cooperation between the two neighbours.

Gen Ershad informed U Maung Maung Kha of the positive outcome of the Delhi Non-aligned summit noting with satisfaction that the summit had contributed to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the Movement. He underscored that Bangladesh, in close cooperation with other like-minded countries, would continue to work for maintaining the Movement's independent and non-block character through rededication to the original and authentic principles. The Burmese Premier thanked the CMLA for apprising him of Bangladesh's position. Gen. Ershad extended invitations to Burmese President U San Yu and Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha to visit Bangladesh. The invitations were accepted with great pleasure.

#### Press Conference on Return

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 May 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H.M. Ershad on Friday returned home satisfied with the outcome of his two-day goodwill visit to Burma.

Talking to newsmen at Zia International Airport on his return from Rangoon the CMLA said that Bangladesh had no political problem with her neighbour Burma. He termed the Bangladesh-Burma border as a 'border of peace'.

In reply to a question the CMLA categorically said that the so called 'Shanti Bahini' was not operating from inside Burma. He however pointed out that they sometimes operate from inside another neighbouring country.

General Ershad considered his visit to Burma as very successful though it was very brief. He termed his talks with the Burmese leaders as 'very fruitful'. He believed that his visit would further consolidate the friendly relations between the two neighbours.

In his discussion with the Burmese leaders the CMLA said more emphasis was given to bilateral matters especially on trade and culture for mutual benefit.

of the two friendly neighbours. He disclosed that a Burmese cultural team would soon visit Bangladesh.

The CMLA stressed the need for developing personal rapport among the leaders of the two countries. He was happy to note that in his discussions with his hosts he found identical views between Bangladesh and Burma on most of the regional and international issues like Afghanistan Kampuchea and Iraq-Iran war.

General Ershad said that he had apprised the Burmese leaders of the administrative reorganisation measures he had undertaken for the welfare of the people. The Burmese leaders he said had highly appreciated the laudable steps of his Government. Burma he added had also appreciated the initiative taken by Bangladesh for South Asian forum for regional cooperation.

When his attention was drawn to his interview published recently in a Saudi Daily 'Al Medina' where he expressed doubt about peaceful solution to the Farakka issue the CMLA said that as the Ganges water issue was our problem we should try to the last for its solution. He however asserted that the two neighbouring countries must reach a mutually acceptable solution to the Farakka problem.

Asked whether he was still hopeful about an early solution to the Farakka problem the CMLA said 'I have to be hopeful'.

In reply to a question the CMLA said that he had not discussed with the Burmese leaders about import of rice as he felt Bangladesh had no pressing requirement of rice at the moment. The CMLA however admitted that there had been loss of crop due to recent hailstorm and heavy rainfall in Sylhet Comilla and Noakhali. But he added, 'we are expecting a bumper crop this year'. He said that his Government was alert about the food situation in the country. He was satisfied with present stock of food in government godowns.

In reply to a question the CMLA hinted that he would visit Sri Lanka sometime after his visit to Yugoslavia next month.

Talking about his visit to Burma the CMLA said that he was very much impressed by the warm reception accorded to him his wife and his entourage in Rangoon. He informed that in Rangoon he had performed his Juma prayer on Friday at the mosque at the mazar of Bahadur Shah Zafar the last Mughar Emperor. The gilaf' of the mazar of Bara Pir presented by President Zia-ur Rahman to Bahadur Shah's mazar was still there he said.

Begum Rawshan Ershad Information Minister Syed Nazmuddin Hashim Home Minister Major General Mahabbat Jan Chowdhury and Major General Mannaf Zonal Martial Law Administrator Chittagong accompanied the CMLA.

Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrators Rear Admiral M. A. Khan and Air Vice-Marshal Sultan Mahmud cabinet Ministers high ranking military and civil officials were present at Zia International Airport to welcome the CMLA.

TEXT OF BANGLADESH-BURMA JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 15 May 83 pp 3, 7

[Text] Following is the full text of the Joint Communique issued on conclusion of the goodwill visit to Burma of the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lieutenant General Hussain Muhammad Ershad:

At the invitation of His Excellency U Maung Maung Kha, Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, His Excellency Lieutenant General Hussam Muhammad Ershad, ndc. psc, Chief Martial Law Administrator of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, accompanied by Begum Raushan Ershad, paid a goodwill visit to the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma on May 12 and 13, 1983.

The Chief Martial Law Administrator's delegation included His Excellency Syed Najmuddin Hashim, Minister for Information, His Excellency Major General Mahabbat Jan Chowdhury, Minister for Home Affairs, Major General Abdul Mannaf, psc, Zonal Martial Law Administrator, and His Excellency Mr A H S Ataul Karim, Foreign Secretary, among others.

The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Begum Raushan Ershad and the accompanying delegation were accorded a very warm and cordial welcome reflecting the close bonds of friendship and traditional ties between the Government and the peoples of the two neighbouring countries.

His Excellency U San Yu, President of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, received the Chief Martial Law Administrator of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and had a friendly exchange of views with him.

During the visit, His Excellency Lieutenant General Hussam Muhammad Ershad, ndc, psc, laid a wreath at the Martyrs's Mausoleum.

Bilateral Ties

Their Excellencies the Chief Martial Law Administrator of the People's Republic Bangladesh and the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma held friendly and fruitful discussions on bilateral relations as well as on regional and international issues of common interest and concern. The talks were held in an atmosphere of utmost cordiality and complete understanding.

In these talks, the Chief Martial Law Administrator was assisted by his Excellency Syed Najmuddin Hashim, Minister for Information, His Excellency Major General Mahabbat Jan Chowdhury, Minister for Home Affairs, Major General Abdul Mannaf, psc, Zonal Martial Law Administrator, His Excellency Mr A H S Ataul Karim, Foreign Secretary, His Excellency Mr M Keramat Ali, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to Burma and other senior officials.

The Prime Minister of Burma was assisted by His Excellency General Thura Kyaw Htin, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence, His Excellency U Chit Hlaing, Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency U Khin Maung Gvi Minister for Trade His Excellency U Bo Ni, Minister for Home and Religious Affairs, His Excellency U Aung Kyaw Myint, Minister for Information and for Culture, His Excellency U Thein Han, Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma to Bangladesh and other senior officials from the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

#### Border of Peace

The two leaders underscored that Bangladesh and Burma were bound by the traditional ties of geography, history and culture. They expressed deep satisfaction at the positive development of good neighbourly relations between Bangladesh and Burma and reaffirmed their desire to intensify efforts for further strengthening and consolidating the friendship and cooperation between the two countries. They expressed their firm conviction that the Bangladesh-Burma border would always remain one of peace and tranquillity in keeping with the spirit of everlasting friendship and goodwill between the two neighbouring countries.

Both leaders noted with deep satisfaction that exchange of visits at the leadership level had made significant contributions to the deepening of relations between Bangladesh and Burma. They considered these visits as important milestones in the annals of relations between the two countries. They emphasised the necessity of continued exchange of visits of the leaders of the two countries for further enhancing friendship, understanding and cooperation between Bangladesh and Burma.

The two leaders expressed gratification at the conclusion of various mutually beneficial agreements on general trade, air services, demarcation of the Naaf River Boundary, border arrangements and cooperation and on land boundary. They expressed their firm conviction that any negotiations to be held between Bangladesh and Burma should be conducted in keeping with the spirit of good neighbourliness, friendship, mutual understanding and complete trust.

The two leaders reviewed the international situation and noted with satisfaction the similarity in their views on many of the issues. They reaffirmed their two Governments' firm commitment to the cause of peace and progress in the region in particular and the world at large. Both leaders also reiterated Bangladesh and Burma's firm adherence to the UN Charter and underscored the need for all states to strictly observe the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes.



Both leaders reiterated their full support for the 1971 UN Resolution on Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. They expressed the hope that conditions would soon be created for the successful holding of the proposed Conference on Indian Ocean in Colombo.

The Prime Minister apprised the Chief Martial Law Administrator of the policies adopted by the Government of Burma in consolidating the country's independence and sovereignty and promoting friendly relations with all countries of the world. The Chief Martial Law Administrator expressed understanding and appreciation of Burma's efforts in promoting peace and good neighbourliness.

#### SARC

The Chief Martial Law Administrator outlined the foreign policy of Bangladesh. He also gave an account of Bangladesh's endeavours for a structured multi-sectoral South Asian Regional Co-operation and the progress achieved so far in realisation of this objective. The Prime Minister appreciated the initiatives taken by Bangladesh for promoting cooperation among South Asian countries as contributing to the betterment of the quality of life of the peoples of the region.

The Chief Martial Law Administrator informed the Prime Minister of the positive outcome of the Seventh Summit of the Non-Aligned Conference held in New Delhi in last March. He noted with satisfaction that the Summit had contributed to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the movement. He underscored that Bangladesh would, in close cooperation with other like-minded countries, continue to work for maintaining the Movement's independent and non-bloc character through rededication to the original and authentic principles. The Prime Minister thanked the Chief Martial Law Administrator for apprising him of Bangladesh's position.

#### NIEO

The two leaders expressed concern over the continuing deterioration of the international economic situation and recognised the need for the developing nations to explore all possible avenues for strengthening mutually beneficial co-operation amongst themselves. While reaffirming their commitment to the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on justice and equity, both leaders underscored their determination to continue to strengthen their efforts in international fora for the attainment of this objective.

The Prime Minister of Burma noted with satisfaction that the visit of the Chief Martial Law Administrator of Bangladesh had made a significant contribution to the further deepening of the time-tested friendship, understanding and cooperation between the two neighbouring countries.

The Chief Martial Law Administrator of Bangladesh expressed his deep appreciation and gratitude to the Prime Minister and to the friendly Government and people of Burma for the very warm reception and generous hospitality extended to him, his wife and the members of his delegation throughout their stay in Burma.

His Excellency Lieutenant General Hussam Muhammad Ershad, ndc, psc, Chief Martial Law Administrator of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, extended cordial invitations to His Excellency U San Yu, President, and His Excellency U Maung Maung Kha, Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, to visit Bangladesh. The invitations were accepted with great pleasure.

CSO: 4600/1255

# WORLD BANK RAISES ALLOCATIONS TO PAKISTAN

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 1

[Text] WASHINGTON, June 28: The World Bank is sending an experts' mission to Islamabad next month to expedite its consideration of Pakistan's new Development Plan and, in the meantime, it has raised its tentative allocation to Pakistan for 1983-84 to 340 million dollars, it is learnt.

The framework of collaboration between Pakistan and the World Bank was worked out at a meeting on Monday between the Pakistan Minister for Planning Dr Mahbubul Haq, and the IBRD Regional Vice-President, Mr Hopper.

The delegation of experts, led by chief Economist Bill Macleary, will be arriving in Pakistan around the middle of July and will follow up on the initial assessment of the Development Plan made by a team of bank officials during its May-June visit to Islamabad.

From all indications here, the initial assessment is highly favourable. IBRD specialists broadly endorse the main thrust of the Development Plan and are in basic agreement with the assigned priorities which emphasise expansion of agriculture, tapping of energy resources and underwriting of social benefits.

In keeping with its normal practice, the World Bank will make

a comprehensive, in-depth study of the Plan's aims, approach and strategy, and prepare a 300 to 400 page professional report for presentation to the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium.

What is lending urgency to its operation is the fact that in response to Islamabad's request, an extraordinary meeting of the Consortium has been called for Dec. 7 this year to review the "net aid" flow to Pakistan and to consider special funding for the country's exceptionally large, long-gestation projects.

The projects include Kalabagh hydel power project costing three billion dollars over seven years, Indus Left Bank desalination project at a cost of three billion dollars over 20 years, five-year national energy plan costing 10 billion dollars, and a one-billion dollar project for the rapid development of Baluchistan and the tribal areas.

Altogether this means some 18 billion dollars, necessitating, for the first time, a long-term aid commitment by the World Bank and other Consortium members.

Side by side with Pakistan, the World Bank too will be preparing detailed assessment and documen-

tation for these projects for submission to the Consortium called to meet in special session in Paris on Dec 7 and 8.

While Dec 7 and 8 will be devoted to weighing the quantum of economic assistance to be extended by the governments of consortium members, Dec 9 will be given to mobilising loan-financing by private banks. As this co-financing by the World Bank and other consortium members will be in addition to, and not in place of, the official economic assistance, the prospect was welcomed by Dr Mahbubul Haq as "widening our options".

In an interview, Dr Haq said it is a tribute to Pakistan's increasing credit worthiness that a large number of major banks have shown growing interest in raising funds for the country's development effort, and what is more, they are now willing to stretch the loans from one or two to three or four years or more. Pakistan is seeking a loan-period of seven to eight years.

The key to funding for Islamabad's sixth five-year development plan is the World Bank's growing confidence in Pakistan's management of its economy.—PPI

CSO: 4600/737

# FEDERAL BUDGET CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 5

[Text]

LAHORE, June 28: Speakers at a seminar here on Monday criticised the Government for increasing railway fares, postal charges and prices of gas, cement and fertilizer in the Federal Budget and made a strong plea to withdraw them and order to save the common man from being caught up in the clutches of price-hike.

Mr. Khurshid Ahmad, a member of the Majlis-i-Shoora, presided over the seminar held at the Pakistan National Centre.

In his presidential address, Mr. Khurshid Ahmad who is also a labour leader, said a large segment of the new ADP would be obtained from foreign assistance which was an insult to the nation. Instead, he said, local resources should have been mobilised to the maximum.

Mr. Siraj Qureshi, a member of the Punjab Council said the new

Budget would jeopardise the price-index and called upon the Government to revise the salaries of the government servants in proportion to the increase in prices.

Criticising the rise in railway fares, Mr. Siraj Qureshi said the Federal Finance Minister had preferred to shift the burden of corruption and irregularities on to the shoulders of the common man instead of plugging the loopholes.

He lauded the decision of de-rationing sugar and hoped the step would bring down its prices in the open market. He demanded a similar step for "atta".

He appreciated the Government for announcing steps to promote industrialisation in the country and enhancing the allocation for "Qarz-i-Hasna".

He also demanded withdrawal of rise in the prices of gas, cement, fertiliser etc.—PPI.

CSO: 4600/737

COMMENTARY ON JI LEADER'S STATEMENTS ON AFGHANISTAN

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 p 9

[Article by M. A. Mansuri]

[Excerpt]

Last week, the President of a defunct political party came out with a statement alleging that "the Pakistan Government is shifting its stand on the Afghanistan issue" and emphasising that "nobody except the Afghan Mujahedeen has the right to decide the fate of Afghanistan".

The same day, another leader of the same party convened a Press conference in Islamabad and issued a warning that "the Army will have to accept accountability if it wants a rôle in the (future) constitutional set-up". Demanding a "national convention of the forces upholding the Pakistan ideology", he drew pointed attention to "the lesson taught by history that nations drift towards non-political means if they are not allowed to resolve political issues through political means."

Some observers claim to have noted the presence of a sort of ve-

led threat in these utterances. The leaders of this party have on the whole been quite well-disposed towards the Government. Until a few weeks ago they were publicly arguing against any confrontation with the Government at this stage, saying this could lead to a frightful situation for the country. They were using Afghanistan and the situation on the borders to support their argument for restraint and moderation. To an extent they seemed to have succeeded in lessening the impact of the lawyers' countrywide agitation and the MRD's threat to observe Black Day on July 5 and launch a campaign for the restoration of democracy from Aug 14. What some people are wondering is whether this change of tone presages a policy change on the part of this group and, if so, what is the motivation for such a change.

CSO: 4600/735

## EQUITABLE SHARING OF FEDERAL REVENUES TERMED A NECESSITY

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 Supplement: pp I, IV

[Article by M. B. Naqvi]

[Text] THE Sind Finance Minister has made a strong plea for a greater share to Sind in the divisible pool of federal revenues. He has enumerated the grounds on which he thinks more money should be made available to Sind. These are valid, of course. But that is a different story. In any case, the Finance Commission, that has been seized of the matter, has to make a larger decision about what criteria to adopt for dividing these revenues, mostly certain taxes.

Eyes of the smaller provinces are on the Finance Commission just for this formula for dividing the divisible moneys of the federation between the centre and units. The latter have, rather quietly but consistently, campaigned for a new formula that took into account the various factors affecting them more seriously than merely population.

The present formula — being in operation for almost two terms, the term being the five-year period after which the new Commission decides upon, maybe, a new formula — takes into account only one factor: population.

Thus Sind is expected to get 23.3 per cent of the divisible pool in 1983-84, according to the 1981 census of population. Earlier, the

share was 22.5 per cent (in accordance with the 1972 census). This population-basis formula was adopted in 1973-74, though it was in operation, on an ad hoc basis, ever since the break-up of the One Unit scheme.

The fact to the matter is that smaller provinces, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP without exception, have been dissatisfied with this formula. What they want is a more comprehensive formula that takes into account their special characteristics. Thus, the Sind Minister of Finance now enumerates several factors that he thinks ought to inform the labours of the Finance Commission, which has been taking unduly long to mull over issue.

### Special considerations

The factors the Sind Minister has pinpointed as requiring special considerations are the extraordinary rate of population growth in the Sind province at 3.5 per cent, the special requirements of this population which is extraordinarily more urban than anywhere: 43 per cent of Sind population lives in towns and cities. Then some places in Sind are about as backward as anywhere. Finally, there are several industrial concentrations where infrastructural constraints are causing untold losses.

He might have added his province contains Karachi, a truly problem city. There is hardly a problem that afflicts a metropolitan city anywhere and it afflicts

Karachi more than anywhere else. Everything necessary for either civilised living or industrial production and modern commerce is in short supply: water, electricity, gas, roads, public transportation, telephones, hospitals, schools, playgrounds and every other amenity. The whole place is virtually crumbling. And yet some 50 per cent of the country's industrial production and the main reception centre for excess working people — of all classes — is what is involved; but it is being allowed to go to seed.

### Commission's work

Whether the case made by the Sind Finance Minister is likely to make a dent on the armour of the Finance Commission is anybody's guess. There is an unnecessary amount of secrecy being displayed over the working of the Finance Commission. These are the issues that deeply involve the sentiments of the articulate people; they ought to be aired publicly. Secrecy breeds suspicion.

As is it, absence of representative governments in the provinces can only inhibit the provincial bureaucracies; who can expect them to press their cases full bloodedly before their superiors in Islamabad, who control their promotion, posting, leave, special favours and even hiring and firing.

Even so, the cases made by provincial governments ever since 1972 must be on record. To the best of one's insufficient and rather vague knowledge, they have all opposed the population-based

formula for dividing the federal pool of revenues; they have invariably emphasised other relevant criteria: backwardness, productive base, endowment, special circumstances, etc.

### Majority province's view

A deaf ear has been turned to their pleas and the argument of the majority province for making population the basis was accepted. The smaller provinces representatives wryly note that before 1970 this basis was stoutly opposed by the West Pakistan representatives; the two Shoaib Commissions in 1962 and 1964-65 gave 54 and 46 per cent to East and West Pakistan respectively — but that was against the wishes of the West Pakistan representatives.

The matter is controversial in all federations: in India, Canada and Australia mainly. In the US the issue does not cause controversy because the residuary powers are firmly with the states and they jealously guard them. Besides, financial arrangements are fixed. The issue becomes more complicated where the centre is made more strong.

India is an outstanding example, where every five years the formula for dividing the divisible pool is freshly devised. They and others in Australia and Canada have gone through a whole range of possible formulae. We can learn from them useful lessons.

### Historical perspective

Even before independence, the British had faced the problem of

dividing revenues between the centre and provinces in India. There is a considerable amount of literature on the subject available. From the viewpoint of today's question, one can begin with the Finance Committee of 1870 (the earlier arrangements were more ad hoc). The next major effort was under the Government of India Act 1919: a Meston Committee went into the question in 1922. Their reports deal with the question exhaustively.

Then, the arrangement was reviewed by Sir Otto Niemeyer in 1937. His award is said to be an interesting document. The reports of Commissions within Pakistan but before 1970 are of limited use because of the heavy overlay of East-and-West Pakistan rivalry, though the issues were clearly spelled out in the Sir Jeremy Raisman Award of 1952. The National Finance Commission envisaged by the 1956 Constitution was never instituted. In the 1960s, Mr Mohammad Shoaib headed one Committee (1962) and one Commission (1964-65). After 1971 only one Commission report is said to be available, though not to outsiders.

All of which makes the yet-to-come report of the Finance Commission of extraordinary importance; one would like to know whether it rises above the pressures. As has been noted, the opinions being formulated by the provincial bureaucracies in the backdrop of a Martial Law government, and total absence of popular expression, needs to be given a certain weightage. Had there been free political activity and expression,

the issues would have been strong controversies.

### Academic or Controversial?

The time seems to be ripe for an independent high-calibre Commission to go into the whole question. It is basically an academic question that ought not to be allowed to degenerate into a political controversy among provinces — which is what is going to happen if the issue is not tackled as an urgent but academic problem.

An unofficial commission comprising eminent international personalities with experience of politics administration and finance is said to be mooted. One wishes it is done on an official plane but not the usual finance secretaries, presided over by the Federal Finance Minister.

There is a tendency to ignore the demands of more money of the central government as so many importunities. The central government is the only government that has adequate taxation powers; the provincial governments, following the 1935 Government of India Act are only glorified municipalities. This is so in India today and it was so in most of Pakistan constitutions.

But the subject should, insofar as the question of disposal of funds is concerned, must be settled in a truly fair manner. That will greatly assist political stability in this country in days to come.

# EUROPEAN ENTREPRENEURS MEET NWFP GOVERNOR

Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 83 p 9

[Text]

PESHAWAR, June 23: The delegation of European entrepreneurs, currently visiting Pakistan to explore the possibilities of industrial cooperation and investment called on the NWFP Governor, Lt-Gen Fazle Haq at the Governor's House here on Wednesday.

The delegation included Mr Walter Zimmerman, President, "Brown Anfroots" of France, Mr. A. Geets, President, and Mr Nysoen, Chief Engineer of "Boerenbond Agro Industries" of Belgium. They remained with the Governor for some time and discussed with him prospects of cooperation to improve agricultural marketing and establishment of agro-based industries in NWFP.

Speaking on the occasion, the NWFP Governor said that this province has got great potential for investment in agro-based industries. Although very fine qualities of vegetables and fruits are grown by this province, yet, due to lack of or-

ganised marketing and inadequate facilities of transportation, package and storage, the growers cannot benefit from their export.

The Governor said the Federal Government has given many concessions including that in tax and duty to encourage new industrial investment in this province. He assured all possible help and cooperation on behalf of the Provincial Government to the European investors.

Also present on the occasion were the NWFP Minister for Industries, Mr Salim Saifullah, Federal and Provincial Secretaries of Industries and Federal Joint Secretary of Agriculture.

The industrialists' delegation also held a meeting with the industrialists, traders and agriculturists of province.

The meeting which was presided over by the Provincial Minister for Finance and Industries, Mr Salim Saifullah, was also attended,

among others, by Secretaries, Industries and Agriculture, Chairman of SDA, and Registrar of Cooperatives.

Welcoming the delegation, Mr. Salim Saifullah Khan said that more than Rs 5,600 million had been invested in 728 industrial units in the province.

The Minister referred to various agricultural products and said that all the industries were primarily agro-based on the locally available raw materials. He said that the Peshawar valley and the northern parts of the province are fruit-growing areas and there was great scope for the expansion of fruit and vegetable processing and canning industry.

He said that the province was also rich in forests while 44 minerals had so far been identified. He added that with new technology, expertise and investment, the resources of the province could be extensively utilised.—APP.

CSO: 4600/733



# PUNJAB'S DEPENDENCE ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 Supplement pp I, IV

[Article by A. T. Chaudhri]

[Text] SINCE the Punjab, a super-unit of Pakistan, occupies a predominant position with its massive size and resources, its economic fortunes and budgetary projections make a perceptible impact on the national economic scene.

The economy of the province, which was under severe strains in the late seventies, has lately undergone a steady transformation. This is reflected in the upturn of agricultural produce and the upswing in industrial output.

The Punjab contributes 80 per cent of the country's wheat production, 52 per cent of rice and 75 per cent of cotton. In the industrial sphere, the province accounts for 45 per cent of cotton yarn, 50 per cent of cotton cloth, sugar and vegetable ghee and 75 per cent of fertilisers.

The expanding economy of this heartland of Pakistan has given a spurt to its general revenue receipts. These have risen from Rs 7,955.6 million in 1981-82 to Rs 8,526 million in 1982-83 and are expected to go up to Rs 9,529.2 million in 1983-84. The Annual Development Programme for the fiscal 1983-84 is pegged at Rs 4,220 million.

It is worth noting that six years ago, to be more exact in 1976-77, the revenue receipts were estimated at Rs 3,380 million, while the development outlay was hitched to the figure of Rs 2,290 million. Thus the overall size of the

new Punjab budget — Rs 20,800 million — shows a twofold increase in revenue receipts and almost as much in ADP in the short span of half a decade.

## The other side

This cannot but inspire a measure of confidence in the financial housekeeping of Punjab which produces two-thirds of the country's major crops, supplies 60 per cent of its exports and absorbs 50 per cent of its total imports.

Yet, that is one side of the picture, the bright side. There is also the other side with some bleak features. For example, the tax-free revenue budget shows a sharp rise in non-development expenditure — Rs 1,026.01 as against the receipts of Rs 9,526.2 million. This leaves a deficit of Rs 730.9 million which has been reduced to Rs 173.9 million by a proposed economy cut of Rs 557 million. (In the 1982-83 Budget the estimated surplus of Rs 780 million turned into a deficit of Rs 193 million.)

The ceaseless rise in the cost of administration and the consequent decline in the revenue surplus is a disturbing feature, though it is a feature common to all the provinces. In the case of Punjab, it is somewhat intriguing that the present strength of the Secretariat is more than that of the One Unit which was dismantled after the Ayub era.

Apart from the regular proliferation of posts and departments it is difficult to comprehend why the non-development revenue expenditure on the maintenance of law

and order — and reinforcement of the Police force — is more than the expenditure incurred on health services. In the 1983-84 budgetary proposals, the allocation for civil administration, including the Police, is Rs 1,168 million which marks an increase of 11.2 per cent over the 1982-83 budget.

It might be contended that non-development expenditure also covers administration of justice, provision of schools and colleges which do not fall under the purview of the ADP, and extension of social services and economic services which now claim a good chunk of money Rs 3,816 million and Rs 2,646 million, respectively. But there is still room for a thorough economy cut to strike a more judicious balance between the demands of administration and dictates of social welfare.

## Social services

Indeed, an objective analysis of the Punjab budget indicates that social services have not been neglected, at least in the ADP. The sector-wise breakdown of the ADP (Rs 4,220 million) shows that almost 75 per cent of the gross size of the Programme goes to three sectors — agriculture claiming Rs 1,232.4 million; physic. planning and housing Rs 942.9 million and Health, Education and Training Rs 488.9 million each. The underprivileged fold are likely to benefit to some extent from the new planning strategy, which gives special weightage to less developed areas and seeks to level up inter-district

and intra-district disparities.

The emphasis on rural electrification, water supply and farm-to-market roads the development of backward areas, such as Dera Ghazi Khan, Cholistan and a number of tehsils and the stress on setting up rural industries and providing new job opportunities to the rural multitudes to stem the tide of their ceaseless migration to urban areas — all this should bring some much-needed balm to the sores of the villagers groaning under economic deprivations common to the have-nots of society.

### Quality of life

The concentration on the development of backward areas through sectoral planning and selective programming is quite significant. Some expert studies indicate that half the districts of Punjab suffer from neglect, since they account for barely six per cent of the province's industrial production. Then, only 30 per cent of the fortunate districts happen to be the actual beneficiaries of agricultural inputs and technology.

One might also add that owing to the perpetuation of feudalism, the mechanised sub-sector of agriculture, which is dominated by a few thousand feudal aristocrats,

has prospered since independence, while the peasantry owning subsistence holdings has had a rough deal. Still worse has been the lot of the landless labour whose per capita income is among the lowest in the world. How far their quality of life is going to be improved in the next Plan without effecting structural changes in the rural economy remains to be seen.

Critics of the government's planning strategy and the Punjab's ADP is a prototype on a minor scale of the Sixth Plan — have lately begun to say that since the people's representatives have not been associated with the formulation of the Plan, it would fail to arouse popular enthusiasm or ensure active participation of the masses with its implementation. Then, the loans and credits envisaged in the Plan, which will have strings attached may benefit the foreign donors more than the recipients, since categorical conditions for the direction of Pakistan's economic management are stipulated in the credit agreements.

### Apprehensions

These apprehensions may be exaggerated, but the wide gap between the available resources and the gross size of the development

programme should be a source of concern for the stewards of the economy. Reverting to the Punjab, it is worth pointing out that the province's contribution to the ADP is only a fraction of the federal assistance — cash grants and loans. No fresh resource has been mobilised to reduce the province's dependence on federal assistance and external credit.

It goes without saying that as long as the Punjab, like other provinces, continues to depend on the federal government for financing the bulk of its development programme, the concept of provincial autonomy and the goal of economic self-reliance would remain illusory and elusive.

It was time Punjab, as the major province of Pakistan, tapped new sources of revenue by soaking the opulent feudal lords and industrial tycoons who have had a surfeit of concessions and incentives but have failed to make an adequate contribution to resource mobilisation. It was also time to drastically curtail unproductive administrative expenditure which continues to drain the national wealth. The Punjab has to stand on its feet, rather than walk on federal and foreign crutches, and set an example worthy of emulation by the smaller provinces.

# INDIA TO BLOCK PAKISTAN'S COMMONWEALTH ENTRY AGAIN

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 p 12

[Article by Yehia Syed]

[Text]

LONDON, June 25: If Pakistan's re-entry is proposed at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, scheduled for November in New Delhi under the chairmanship of Indira Gandhi, India would once again block the move under a new pretext, observers said.

India's new pretext would be that as there is no earlier precedent of a former member's rejoining the Commonwealth, Pakistan cannot be allowed back into the commonwealth, till a procedure for readmission is devised by the members.

India's latest move to block Pakistan's proposed entry emerged in a reply to a question put to Kunwar Natwar Singh of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, and now in charge of the arrangements for the Delhi Commonwealth conference, by a former Pakistani parliamentarian, Mr Ahmed E.H.

Jaffer, after Mr Singh had addressed a Royal Commonwealth Society meeting on "the Commonwealth meet in New Delhi."

Kunwar Natwar Singh said: "It was Mr Bhutto's Government which had decided to leave the Commonwealth and similar decisions to leave the commonwealth were, in the past, also taken by Burma, Ireland and South Africa. As none of those countries have re-joined the Commonwealth, there is no precedent of a former member coming back. The New Delhi meeting, in the absence of a precedent, will have to decide if Pakistan should be admitted by a simple majority or by unanimous decision."

Recently, Mrs Gandhi, in an interview to a Canadian paper, had said that India could not provide Pakistan an international forum to discuss Kashmir by letting her rejoin the Commonwealth.

CSO: 4600/734

## NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF OVERSEAS REMITTANCES DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 p 9

[Editorial]

[Text] PERCEPTIVE observers have for long been conscious of the darkness that lies behind the radiance of remittances from our emigrant workers. We have, on occasions, pointed out the economic and social costs of our manpower export which has reached disturbing levels in recent years. Now a news report based on United Nations studies has underlined some disquieting features of this phenomenon. It is estimated that at least 20 million migrant workers have left their home countries in search of jobs in alien lands. Many millions more are illegal immigrants, drudging for very low wages in rich countries. Since the movement of the emigrant workers is not controlled, despite their vital role in the international labour market, the UN has pushed forward an international agreement to regulate the movement and the UN General Assembly has called on a study group to investigate the problem. It is obvious that cheap and docile labour is welcomed by the wealthy countries and the poor countries are eager to export their manpower to improve their balance of payments and reduce the pressure of unemployment at home. North America serves as an overpow-

ering magnet for the poor of Mexico, Latin America and the Caribbean, while the oil-rich Middle East and West Europe attract workers from Asia and Africa. The annual report of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities has given the example of the United Arab Emirates to indicate the level of migrant workers influx. Only about one fourth of the population of the UAE is composed of the nationals of that country. The rest are migrant workers.

Pakistan has achieved a dubious distinction in this respect so that no international survey of migrant workers can ignore it as a major case study. Pakistan relies in a crucial way on home remittances from emigrant workers. Countries like North Yemen and Jordan are also almost totally dependent on migrant workers for their foreign currency income. The UNFPA report has noted that some countries — like the Philippines — even insist that their workers abroad send a certain fixed share of their income home. The use this hard-earned foreign currency is put to has also been underlined. We are familiar in Pakistan with how the money earned abroad is wasted on luxury goods. No significant productive investments have come out of such

income. But even a more serious loss in this transfer of human resources, as highlighted by the UN population experts, pertains to the drain of qualified and skilled personnel from poor countries. The experts see this as an aid programme of the poor countries for the rich nations. The rich nations get educated and trained manpower at the expense of the emigrant countries. The UN experts calculated that West Germany would have had to spend 33 billion dollars to educate the same number of workers that came to it between 1957 and 1973. Doctors and engineers who emigrate from countries like India and Pakistan are educated almost wholly at public expense and their departure amounts to a transfer of talent deeply affecting the socio-economic uplift prospects of the supplier nations. Another vital aspect is the exploitation of migrant workers, skilled or unskilled, in host countries. An underworld has flourished in the guise of recruiting agencies which operate a new form of slave trade. Most migrant workers are heavily underpaid and made to live in deplorable conditions compared to the standards of living in the host countries.

Even without any additional prodding from the UN-level studies and investigations, we must ponder the situation strictly in terms of our own national interests. It is a pity that the real implications of our massive manpower export have not yet been seriously contemplated. The exodus cannot be wholly attributed to the so-called "pull" factors. A large number of our talented, skilled and enterprising people are being pushed out by disregard of merit and a poor reward system in our society as well as by the absence of opportunities for genuine work fulfilment. As it is, mostly the more enterprising emigrate. But talented people who love their country and feel an urge to participate in the nation-building process are often frustrated by what they encounter in a work environment almost wholly dominated by sterile bureaucratic notions, methods and controls. Corruption, nepotism and sinecurism which have infected even the modern sectors of life make it very difficult for conscientious Pakistanis to find work satisfaction and fulfilment in their own homeland. Unless we correct this situation and allow merit to be recognised and honoured, Pakistan will remain greatly exposed to the danger of a continuous flight of talent. It must be realised that for all our foreign exchange earnings, we are becoming poorer and weaker as a result of the drain on our trained manpower. There is also the social cost that families of emigrant workers have to pay. Experts have already detected a rising trend of moral and psychological aberrations in many of such families. Not to be under-rated either are the ill-effects of conspicuous consumption and ostentatious living that incomes earned abroad have fuelled. How long shall we ignore the debit side while counting our home remittances? Do we have no need for talent and enterprise of our own? Our leaders, planners and framers of national policy must take note of the long-term implications of allowing an unrestricted flow of talent and skills out of the country. We suggest that the problem be investigated in all its aspects by a high-powered commission. We must arrest this virtual vote of no confidence in the future of our society. And this can be done primarily by observing judicious selectivity in the matter of manpower export and by bringing about changes and improvements in conditions that induce many talented and enterprising Pakistanis to leave the country and seek opportunities of fulfilment abroad.

CSO: 4600/733

# OMBUDSMAN'S SECRETARIAT TO START END OF JULY

Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 83 p 9

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 23: The Wafaqi Mohtasib's secretariat (Ombudsman's secretariat) will start functioning from last week of July 1983.

According to informed sources here today, the secretariat will begin working with the taking of oath of office by the Wafaqi Mohtasib designate, Mr Justice (retd) Mohammad Iqbal, whose appointment was announced in January last.

The secretariat will start receiving and attending to the complaints soon after the Wafaqi Mohtasib assumes the charge of his office.

The arrangements are under way for the establishment of a full-fledged Mohtasib's secretariat. An amount of Rs 35 million has been allocated in the annual budget of 1983-84 for this purpose.

It will function in a sizable portion of the Benevolent Fund Building here near Zero Point. The construction and furnishing of the building is nearing completion.

Services of some high Government officials have already been placed at the disposal of the Ombudsman's secretariat. Four provinces have also been asked to nominate suitable officers for it.

The President, Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, had promulgated the "establishment of the office of Wafaqi Mohtasib Order 1983" providing for the appointment of Wafaqi Mohtasib to "diagnose, investigate, redress and rectify any injustice done to a person by a Government agency.

The Government agency, as defined in the Order, includes any ministry, division, department, commission of the Federal Government or a statutory corporation or other institution established by the Federal Government except the courts of law, tribunals or boards established by law.

The jurisdiction of the Wafaqi Mohtasib will extend to the whole of the country.—APP

CSO: 4600/733

## SIXTH PLAN, MAHBUBUL HAQ'S POLICIES SEVERELY CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 9 Jun 83 p 11

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text]

WITH only a layman's knowledge of economics to guide me, the more I come to know about the Sixth Five Year Plan the more fascinated I am. The distortions and imbalances built into it are so great and so obvious that the wonder is how anyone could have rubbed it off on his unsuspecting colleagues.

Its main architect, the Minister of Planning Dr. Mahbubul Haq, an old hand at plan-making, has tried to sell his handiwork as a plan which combines "a strong production base with an equally strong social conscience." This much can be said right at the beginning that whatever else the Plan is about, a strong production base and a strong social conscience are the least of its concerns. Furthermore the Sixth Plan documents approved by the NEC rely heavily on references to Islamic concepts of justice and equity. But this is part of the Plan's literary baggage. It has been framed within the guidelines prescribed by the IMF which have little to do with Islam.

## Public sector

The Sixth Plan will all but completely dismantle the public sector. Of the nearly 500 billion rupees which is the total size of the Plan, only 200 billion are earmarked for public sector development needs (as against the Rs. 148 billion in the 5th Plan out of a total outlay of Rs. 210 billion) and the rest for the private sector.

The government will break new ground by inviting the private sector

into fields such as transport, communications, health, education and energy. Its cooperation is being assured by holding out the prospect of "reasonable" profits (unlikely to be less than 20 per cent for otherwise why should it invest?) on the services it provides. This looks less like welfare and more like an invitation to exploit. Even in the United States, the home of free enterprise, transport and many other amenities are State-owned or closely controlled by the State. In Britain, despite Mrs Thatcher, the Welfare State is still intact which means that we are trying to be more royal than the king.

Not only this but efforts will be made to divert the major part of public savings towards a handful of private sector parties to enable them to finance almost 70 per cent of the Plan. Public savings are taxes and borrowings not spent on current non-developmental purposes, including profits of post offices and State corporations producing essential goods. As a column writer in Dawn put it, "Paid or contributed by taxpayers and consumers, or guaranteed by taxpayers, these savings will, at best, become a junior partner to a given capitalist. That looks like an odd way of enforcing Islam."

## Industry

Industry is in for the same treatment. Public sector allocations for industry will fall sharply, by a staggering Rs. 30 billion from the 5th

Plan allocation of Rs. 45.80 billion, with the private sector being expected to do the major investments in certain specified fields: engineering goods, agro-based industries and electronics. Apart from the fact that the sectoral shift will lead to a resurrection of the "22 families syndrome", the point to be noted is that the Plan envisages the development of only medium industries at the cost of our nascent capital goods industry. This is the surest way to perpetuate dependence and keep the economy hooked on consumers beyond its means.

The Planning Minister has all but admitted that with 44 per cent of total revenues going to defence and 30 per cent towards debt repayments, leaving just 26 per cent for other expenditure, the country's resource position was critical. This situation left the government with no option except to resort to "ruthless taxation" (Dawn May 30). This will take a variety of ingenious forms:

1. The system of rationing and the subsidies on items hitherto considered "essential" will be withdrawn totally by 1985.
2. Services provided by the government such as water, power, etc. will carry appropriate "users' charges", a euphemism which will hardly soften the impact of higher indirect taxes. School and college fees will rise.
3. Greater resort to "consumption point" taxes, another euphemism for indirect taxes over the entire range of the economy.

As part of Reaganomics Pakistani style, the Plan would encourage demand for consumer items manufactured locally from imported raw materials to ensure increased revenue income from import duties, excise duties and sales tax. Thus dependence will be an inbuilt feature of the Plan scarcely less important than the overt reliance on foreign aid.

About half the Plan is expected to be financed from foreign assistance. Not surprisingly most of it will be in the form of commodity aid for intermediate goods which Pakistan will have to purchase at uncompetitive prices from the donor countries. The import of these goods, while adding to the customs revenue, will reinforce Pakistan's status as a captive market of the West. By the end of the Plan if all goes well Pakistan's debts, now between 11 and 12 billion dollars, would simply double.

Not much imagination is required to foresee that the gap between the rich and poor will widen enormously. Despite the hopes of the Planning Commission and Dr. Mahbubul Haq, very little of the concentration of wealth at the top will trickle down to those who will be hit the hardest by users' charges, consumption point taxes and withdrawal of subsidies.

The devices of language are being employed to hide the ugly features of the Plan. But no amount of sophistry will be able to soften the impact of what increasingly looks like the most mischievous Five Year Plan in the history of Pakistan. Zakat and ushr are being described as "safety nets" for the most deprived sections of the population. But small hand-outs to 2 million people (which is the official figure) is no substitute for the social dislocation inherent in the current planning.

That in the end may be its one saving grace. It is one of Mrs. Thatcher's axioms that things have got to get worse before they can get better. The Sixth Plan bids fair to worsen matters to such an extent that it is not fanciful to expect them to break down completely. Dr. Mahbubul Haq performed one service to the nation by contributing decisively to the economic policies which shook the Ayub regime. It looks as if he is about to perform another.



## MAIRAJ EXPLAINS MRD'S BASIC OBJECTIVES

Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 83 p 4

[Text]

HYDERABAD, June 23: The Chairman Quami Mahaz Azadi (QMA) and the Central leader of MRD Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, has said the basic objective of MRD was to "save the country from destruction" and not to "create chaos and confusion".

Addressing a Press conference, he said the civil disobedience movement of MRD scheduled to be launched from Aug. 14, would not fizzle out and the struggle would continue till the fundamental objectives of restoration of democracy and the 1973 Constitution were achieved.

### Local bodies polls

He said talks with the components of MRD were afoot to boycott local bodies elections because this was only a strategy to distract the attention of the people from real issues.

Mr Mairaj alleged that the Government was contemplating to shunt out over one lakh Government and public sector employees on the pretext of over-employment, which was not commensurate with the ratio of employment when Bangladesh was the part of Pakistan.

But the irony, he claimed was that those who had passed their re-

tirement age were either being re-employed, or given extension. Over and above all this, the bureaucracy and the high officials were being granted all sorts of facilities. He held out an assurance that when MRD came into power all the shunted out employees would be reinstated. He said that the struggle for restoration of democracy as well as the struggle for source of livelihood were "synonymous".

### Jamaat criticised

Answering a question, Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan said that Jamaat-i-Islami was in the bandwagon of the Government and it had no moral right or justification to criticise the MRD or any other individual of the party. He said MRD was not the agent of any Super Power.

He demanded immediate release of all the arrested political leaders, students, workers and journalists. He said that the entire educational system was in a serious crisis.

He said that many educational institutions had been closed down for an indefinite period without any reason.

He told a questioner that the MRD was strictly against imposing any ban on students unions.

CSO: 4600/733

## MRD LEADER SAYS DEMOCRACY A 'MUST'

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 p 12

[Text] The MRD Convener, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, said on Saturday that Pakistan, which was achieved on the basis of universal adult franchise, could only prosper with the restoration of undiluted democracy.

Speaking at an Iftar party given for him and the other MRD leaders by Mr. Nafees Siddiqui, Secretary-General of the National Council for Civil Liberties, at his Clifton residence, Mr. Mazari said he was convinced the people were behind the MRD in its struggle for democracy and the rule of law.

He made it plain that unless the fundamental rights of the people were restored and justice was meted out to the Federation's four units, Pakistan's future would remain at stake.

Mr. Mazari, who is also the President of the defunct National Democratic Party (NDP), urged the parties outside the MRD to come forward and take part in the MRD's Aug. 14 drive for the restoration of democracy. Otherwise, he cautioned, the people will "reject" them.

Present at the Iftar party were Khwaja Khairuddin (PML), Mr. Mairaj Mohammad Khan, and Mr. Iqbal Haider (Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi), Mr. Fatehyab Ali Khan (Mazdoor-Kissan Party), Rao Ab-

dur Rashid (PPP), Mr. Abid Zuberi (NDP), Mr. Yusuf Masti Khan (Pakistan National Party), Qari Sher Afzal (Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam) and Mr. Anwar Abbas Naqvi (PDP), as well as the MRD leaders from various provinces.

Mr. Mazari assured the women representatives present that with the return of democratic rule, their rights also would be restored and they would be enabled to serve Pakistan, shoulder to shoulder with their male brethren and without an iota of discrimination.

Similarly, he said, the MRD would bring round all sections of society in its bid to muster support for its pro-democracy campaign.

Earlier, Mr. Nafees Siddiqui, who attended the two-day session of the MRD Central Action Committee in Karachi as a special invitee, said that the National Council for Civil Liberties fully endorsed the MRD's 31-point charter as "mirroring the wishes and aspirations of all sections of people."

He said any political party will be welcome if it wished to play a "positive role" in the Aug. 14 campaign proposed by the MRD. Those, which did not, will not be able to face the "avalanche of mass revolution," he added.

Mr. Nafees urged the MRD leaders to gear up "all the democratic forces" in the country to its action

programme for, he cautioned, that if the Aug. 14 drive ended in a fiasco "it will be great tragedy for Pakistan."

Rao Abdur Rashid (PPP-Punjab) assured the MRD leadership of "unstinted support" of the people of Punjab in its struggle for democracy.

Haji Ghulam Sarwar (NDP-Baluchistan) said that the people of Baluchistan had made "sacrifices" consistently, for the recognition of their democratic rights and would do so again until a duly elected, representative government was inducted into power.

Mr. Yusuf Masti Khan (PNP) said, his party had already declared its support to the MRD's call for Aug. 14 campaign and assured the MRD leaders that it would be in the vanguard of the movement.

He, however, said that to ensure active participation of the people of Baluchistan, an iron-clad guarantee will have to be given that the rights of smaller units would be completely safeguarded.

Qari Sher Afzal (JUI) said although in compliance with the directive of his party's high command, he had not attended the meetings of the MRD Central Action Committee, he wished to make it clear that his party stood committed to the drive for democracy.

## MRD VOWS TO STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] The MRD Central Association has appealed to "all the democratic elements," comprising the defunct political parties as well as the various groups and sections of society, to "actively participate," in the Aug. 14 pro-democracy campaign.

The Committee, which concluded its two-day session in Karachi on Saturday, said in its main resolution that the MRD would continue its struggle for the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people on the basis of 1973 Constitution and urged the people "to make all necessary preparations," to that end.

The decision of the defunct JUP and PNP to participate in the MRD drive was welcomed.

Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, Convener of the MRD, and President of the defunct National Democratic Party (NDP), who presided over the MRD Committee's session at his Defence Society residence, released the various resolutions at an informal get-together with the newsmen on Sunday.

On behalf of himself and the other MRD leaders present Mr Mazari said: "We (of the MRD) do, hereby, solemnly pledge to our people that no sacrifice will be great for us to continue our peaceful, democratic struggle until democracy in the pure and undiluted form is restored."

The MRD Action Committee in half a dozen other resolutions dwelt at length on, what it said, the deteriorating political, social and economic situation in the country and maintained that only a duly elected, "people's own government," was capable of tackling

them in the larger national interests.

In the economic field the Committee viewed with "grave concern," the all-round price hike, increase in the cases of corruption, maladministration and nepotism and "subservience to the policies of IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank."

It criticised the Government's "front-line state policy," whereby, according to it, "the security of the country has been endangered."

On the Afghanistan crisis, the Committee said the MRD is of the "considered views" that it can be resolved "only through the political efforts." It objected to the attempts being made to "involve" the Afghan refugees in Pakistan's internal affairs, saying that this would "harm" Pakistan and the "very cause," of the Afghan refugees.

The MRD Committee, in another resolution, slated the alleged harassment and maltreatment of the arrested political and other workers, and said that "those responsible will be held accountable by the future elected government."

Noting with concern what it termed the continued retrenchment and harassment of industrial workers in the agencies and establishments it specifically named, the Committee assured the sacked labourers of their reinstatement after the induction of an elected government.

Listing a series of actions against the student community belonging to the Mehran Engineering University; Polytechnic College, Rawalpindi; Islamia College and

University of Peshawar, as well as in places such as Karachi, Lahore, Okara, Multan, Sahiwal and Tando Jam, the Committee called for the release of those arrested and withdrawal of cases against others in the interest of academic peace and order.

It criticised, what it termed, the double-standard policy whereby a particular student body was being given a "free hand," while the students opposed to it were being "suppressed and repressed."

The MRD Committee said it was "discriminatory," to hold in abeyance the elections of student unions, in Sind and Baluchistan, while those in the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. have already been held.

It called for the release of political leaders and workers, including those held in Quetta while trying to hold an MRD convention on June 10 last.

Answering questions, Mr Mazari said that except for one member-party (Tehrik-i-Istaqlal), whose decision was pending, all the other seven component parties were opposed to participating in the forthcoming elections to the local bodies.

Such elections, in the view of the MRD, will distract the people from the main national issue, i.e. of holding general elections in order to transfer power to the elected representatives.

Poinint to the MRD Committee's resolution, he said that Islam was being "distorted," although it meant "justice and accountability." He regretted that the people of smaller units were having a

"sense of alienation," as they were being "denied participation," in the national affairs.

Asked whether the Aug. 14 campaign would remain peaceful, Mr Mazari said it is our intention to

keep it peaceful but it all depends on how the Government will react to it."

He said that Aug. 14 would be the "test day" for all those parties

which profess democratic values and it would be seen whether their professions were matched with appropriate actions.

CSO: 4600/735

PROVINCES TO SET OWN DATES FOR LOCAL ELECTIONS

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 p 10

[Article by Fakhr Imam]

[Text]

The Federal Minister for Local Bodies, Syed Fakhr Imam, said here on Sunday that the date and programme for local bodies elections would be announced by the respective provincial governments keeping in view their own convenience.

Addressing a meeting held at the Sind Secretariat, the Minister pointed out that the success of the local bodies system and the institutions under it would wholly depend upon the performance of the elected representatives in the next elections.

The meeting was attended by the mayors and chairmen of district councils, municipal committees and coordination committees from all over the province.

He lauded the performance of the present local bodies system and said that it proved more useful and effective in comparison to all such previous systems. After the establishment of this system, score of development works were carried out on the local level, he added.

Mr. Imam said that the local bodies elections were co-related

with the people both directly and indirectly as their elected representatives always remain accountable before them which make them to work for their welfare more dedicately and honestly.

The Minister said that those councillors, who served their electorate sincerely and dedicatedly during their four-year term, would find their spirits high in the forthcoming elections.

He observed that it was a system wherein there was no social discrimination since it provided equal opportunity of service to every person. However, it was unfortunate for our country that this system was never tested.

He pointed out that with the completion of delimitation work, the arrangements for holding local bodies elections had been started.

The Minister also replied in detail to a number of queries and questions put forth by the participants.

The meeting was attended, among others, by the Federal and Sind secretaries of local bodies.—APP.

CSO: 4600/735

# MOVE TO CHANGE 1973 CONSTITUTION CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 12

[Text]

Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Chairman of the defunct Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, said in Karachi on Tuesday that any move to make changes in the 1973 Constitution would not be acceptable to the people.

Speaking at an Iftar party in Model Colony he said that in the presence of 1973 Constitution, which has been kept in abeyance, there was no need to have a new political structure.

He contended that the proposals to introduce proportional representation and separate electorate as well as to balance the powers of the President and the Prime Minister were outside the scope of the 1973 Constitution, and, therefore, they could only be considered by the future elected government.

Mr Mairaj characterised as "diversionary," the move to hold elec-

tions to the Local Bodies and, thereby, distract the people's attention from the main issue of holding countrywide polls to facilitate the transfer of power to the elected representatives. He, therefore, urged all the defunct political parties to boycott these elections.

The QMA chief welcomed Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani's endorsement of the MRD's call for Aug. 14 pro-democracy campaign and said that the Ulema in the past had rendered yeoman service to the cause of freedom and against the autocratic rule.

The meeting, which was presided over by Mr Ashrafullah Siddiqui, was also addressed by Mr Iqbal Hyder, the Party's Secretary-General; Mr Alamdar Hyder, Mr Abrarul Hasan, Mr Javed Farooqi, Mr Jafarul Hasan and Khwaja Saleem, President, Punjab, QMA.

CSO: 4600/737

## MUSLIM LEAGUE'S STANCE CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 16 Jun 83 p 34

[Text]

THE leader of the defunct Muslim League (Pagara Group) has, on his return to Pirjo Goth from the Punjab, told party workers that his League would try to scuttle the civil disobedience movement being launched by the MRD from August 14. The Pir of Pagara said that the Muslim League will not cooperate with the civil disobedience movement. On the contrary, it will try to assure its failure because such movements harm the national interest. However, according to another report, the Pir Saheb has also said that the Muslim League itself will launch a movement for the restoration of political governance and fundamental rights and that details will be announced during an 'iftar' party at Karachi. On the other hand, the Secretary-General of the party, Mr. S.M. Zafar, told newsmen in Lahore the other day that the MRD's decision to launch a civil disobedience

movement was premature but added that the Muslim League agreed with it in principle. In his view, however, the achievement of the desired objectives by launching a movement appears difficult.

Now then, the Secretary-General says that although the civil disobedience idea is premature, he agrees with it in principle. But the president of the party is telling his followers that the Muslim League will try to scuttle the proposed civil disobedience movement. These are the myriad interesting features of the party which have made it so 'popular' among the masses! But who will believe Pir Pagara's statement that the Muslim League will launch a movement for the restoration of fundamental rights? First, haven't we all tried him before (and found him wanting)? Second, the Pir does not intend to launch a movement but to scuttle the one that is launched.

CSO: 4600/738

# RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICIAN SCORED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 16 Jun 83 p 16

[Text]

SHEIKH RASHID was here in connection with his visit for treatment to Bulgaria. The former Federal Health minister was accosted by policemen in plain clothes when he emerged from the chancery, where he had gone to finalise details about his journey for which the Government has very kindly consented.

As he left the embassy, Sheikh Rashid said in a statement that he was chased and intercepted by plain-clothesmen who harassed him and misbehaved, interrogating him rudely. He said humiliating restrictions imposed on visitors to diplomatic missions "are a violation of the norms of international protocol. This looks all the more glaring when considered in the context of 'indiscriminate discrimination'".

## Restrictions

Sheikh Rashid also deplored restrictions on inter-provincial move-

ments of citizens which seem now to be extended to the capital.

The people who have to visit foreign missions as part of their professional duties know very well the ugly manners of the men in plain clothes.

A man who merely said hello to the ambassador of a country considered none too friendly by the regime was stopped just outside the art gallery and rudely asked: "Yeh kiya tumhara rishtedar lagta hai?" (Is this man a relation of yours?).

Cars are broken open to be cleared of all papers and money. Chased. Followed. Men shadowed. Women, too.

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THERE are lucky (defunct) politicians who are free to move about freely. Talk freely. Demand restoration of democracy and yet seem quite satisfied with the state of affairs. One such politician is Jamaat-i-Islami's deputy Amir, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed.

CSO: 4600/738



# BAR ASSOCIATION INVITES LEADERS TO ADDRESS SESSIONS

Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 83 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, June 23: The Lahore High Court Bar Association has decided to invite leaders of all the political parties from various parts of the country and Azad Kashmir to address a special session of the Bar body on national issues and their possible solutions.

Releasing the decision at a Press conference, the Bar cheif, Mr. Afzal Haider, appealed to the government to order the release of detained leaders or at least facilitate their participation in the special session in view of its historical significance.

The leaders invited for the occasion are: Pir Pagara, Mian Tufail Mohammad, Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, Miss Benazir Bhutto Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, Mr. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Mr. Akbar Bughti, Maulana Fazlur Rehman, Maulana Ubaidul-

lah Anwar, Khwaja Khairuddin, Rasul Baksh Palejo, Mahmood Khan Achakzai, ex-Senator Zamur-red Hussain, Begum Inayatullah Mashraqi, Mohammad Ashraf Khan, Meraj Mohammad Khan, Mr. C.R. Aslam and Fatehyab Ali Khan.

Invitees from Azad Kashmir include Sardar Abdul Qayyum, K.H. Khurshid, Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim and Chaudhari Nur Hussain.

Mr. Haider hoped the Government would realise that the session of Lahore Bar would produce positive results and tide over the political crisis.

He requested the leaders to inform the Lahore Bar of their response to the invitation so that it would fix any Thursday after Eid-ul-fitr for holding the session and also inform, accordingly, its members as well as the elected representatives of other Bar Associations.

CSO: 4600/733

# SEVERAL REFUGEES BEING MOVED TO PUNJAB

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 28: As many as 2,00,000 UN registered Afghan refugees are being shifted to Punjab from NWFP, official sources disclosed here on Sunday.

The shifting procedure is to be completed in phases so far, as many as 45,000 refugees have been shifted to a new tentage village at Essakhel in Mianwali in the first phase of the shifting programme, the sources said.

According to these sources, the shifting of these refugees began in December 1982, in the batches of 10,000 each. The shifting of the first batch ended in Jan this year.

Official sources said initially over 40,000 Afghan refugees were to be shifted to Mianwali district. The decision for shifting more refugees to the Punjab, however, has been taken to relieve the burden in NWFP and Baluchistan where the bulk of these refugees live.

## Tentage villages

More tentage villages are being set up in the Punjab to accommodate these homeless people whose total now stands at well over 3 million as such. The Punjab is the third

province to bear the burden of these shelterless people. Their number in the NWFP and Baluchistan, however, is increasing with the worsening of situation in Afghanistan, the official sources maintained.

These sources pointed out that the Government had no intention to settle these refugees in the interior of the Punjab. Mianwali district, the sources added, has been selected in view of its proximity to the NWFP and ethnic affinity.

The official sources said almost all the districts in NWFP have been flooded with Afghan refugees to the point of almost over saturation. That is why the unregistered refugees were being diverted to the Punjab.

According to official figures, the refugees were lodged in 304 tentage villages in over 23 districts and agencies in NWFP and Baluchistan near the Afghan area upto January this year.

The total number of duly registered Afghan refugees in Pakistan comprises children almost half the total number women about 28 per cent and then the male

about 24 per cent of the total number majority of them being aged and infirm.

According to official sources, the Afghan refugees to be shifted to Punjab will be provided with all facilities as enjoyed by those in NWFP and Baluchistan. These include cash allowance of Rs. 50 per head per month, blanket or a quilt, construction material for a mud hut, clothing and foodstuff and medical cover.

The sources maintained that the Commissioner of Sargodha Division, who was assigned the additional responsibility of officiating as Commissioner for refugees in the Punjab, is supervising the shifting of the Afghan refugees to Mianwali in cooperation with his NWFP counterpart.

Presently, the sources said about 600 refugees are being shifted to Mianwali everyday. The shifting activities have, however, been slowed down due the gruelling heat these days, the sources added. The total number of these refugees that is 2,00,000 is expected to be shifted completely to the Punjab, the official sources concluded.—PPI

CSO: 4600/737

# MAJOR BRIDGE ON INDUS SET FOR OPENING

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 p 6

[Text]

MULTAN, June 26: The 3,410-foot long Ghazi Ghat Bridge has been completed at an estimated cost of Rs 28 crore and will be opened for traffic after diversion of the River Indus by the end of December, this year.

According to a reliable source, diversion of the river to Ghazi Ghat has already been started.

The bridge is 134 feet above the river bed and rests on 22 spans the guide bunds of 22 feet high and two-mile long spurs have been built to check the watercourse and to make it flow under the bridge.

An approach road, five-mile long, has also been constructed to connect Dera Ghazi Khan with Muzaffargarh, reducing the distance between them by sixty miles.

The Ghazi Ghat Bridge was designed by the experts of the provincial Highway and Irrigation Departments jointly and no technical advice from foreign experts or any foreign aid was involved in this big project.

The bridge will not only reduce the travelling distance between the provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan but also would bring rapid Economic growth in the under-developing areas of Dera Ghazi Khan Division.

A sum of Rs 2 crore will be spent on 17 new water supply schemes

during next year in Dera Ghazi Khan Division.

The water supply schemes will be expanded in Muzaffargarh and Kot Adu at an estimated cost of Rs 17 lakh while a sum of Rs 24 lakhs, will be spent on completion of a permanent scheme for water supply to Dera Ghazi Khan City.

A sum of Rs 40 lakhs will be spent in first phase on the sewerage schemes of D.G. Khan city while another sum of Rs 1 crore will be spent in the second phase of the scheme.

The Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan Division is reported to have directed the Deputy Commissioner, Muzaffargarh, to take suitable action after making an enquiry against the Lambardar Mohammad Yar and his son, Mohammad Rafiq, of Jatoi area.

The direction has been issued by the Commissioner following a complaint by a cultivator, Ghulam Hussain Baloch, that the Lambardar and his son have already collected excess amount of Revenue and Abiana charges from cultivators.

The City Magistrate Dera Ghazi Khan has imposed a total fine of Rs 8000 on more than 30 shopkeepers for creating hindrance in the movement of traffic on roads through their encroachment in the city.

CSO: 4600/735

# ALLIANCE OF FIVE STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS FORMED

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 p 12

[Text]

Five students organisations have formed an "action committee" to continue their efforts for creating a healthy academic atmosphere in the educational institutions of Sind.

The organisations are: Sindhi Shagird Tehrik, Jiye Sindh Students Federation (Organising Committee), Sind People's Students Federation, Democratic Students Federation and Progressive Jiye Sind Students Federation.

Announcing a 13-point programme, the Shaheed Ehsan Students Action Committee, named after a student allegedly killed in a police firing, assured the students that it would continue to strive for its objectives.

The objectives include a demand for holding an inquiry into the incidents of Sind and Mehran universities, removal of inefficient officials, release of arrested students and withdrawal of warrants against others, annulment of rustication and suspension orders, stopping law-enforcing agencies from entering educational institutions, cancellation of University Ordinance and Martial Law Regulation No. 142, ending measures to ban students unions, restoration of semester system, solving the students' problems of accommodation and transport, opposing the proposed new education policy, etc.

The Action Committee appealed to all "progressive students organisations" to support its "struggle".

Meanwhile, the conditions prevailing in the educational institu-

tions of the province were discussed at a meeting held on Friday at the residence of Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah, former Vice-Chancellor of Sind University.

The meeting attended by leading educationists dwelt at length on the present "unrest among the students" and the growing apprehension among parents about the future of their children. The widening gap between the students and the Government was also a cause for concern, the speakers pointed out.

The meeting was addressed by, Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Shah, Dr. Hamida Khuhro, Dr. Sulaiman Shaikh, Dr. Sharif Memon and Mr Allah Bux Abbasi, member Majlis-i-Shoora.

Present at the meeting, among others, were Sind Minister for Education, Syed Ghous Ali Shah, and MRD leaders, Sardar Sher Baz Mazari and Mairaj Mohammad Khan.

Later a 14-man committee was formed to apprise the authorities of the deteriorating situation in the educational institutions of the province and to approach them for holding a judicial inquiry into the incidents of the Sind and Mehran Universities and suspend the orders passed by a military court against seven students.

The committee with Allah Bux Abbasi as chairman and Ms Anita Ghulam Ali as General Secretary, is approaching the authorities in this connection.

## BUDGET CRITICIZED FOR MISCALCULATIONS, FIGURE TWISTING

Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 83 pp 17, 19

[Article by Dr Mubashir Hasan]

[Text] THINGS did not go well with the government finances last year. According to the "Budget 1983-84 in brief", current expenditure increased by 5 per cent... expenditure on development declined by 10.2 per cent.

The increase in current expenditure amounted to Rs 2,438 million — not a small figure. It is attributed to Rs 352 million rise in defence expenditure, Rs 396 million in subsidies, Rs 1,297 million on internal debt servicing and Rs 425.9 million on external debt servicing among others. But for cuts in grants to provinces/local authorities and minor cuts in community and economic services, the increase in the current expenditure would have been greater.

Like the expenditure position, the receipts position also got worse. The net federal reserve receipts fell by Rs 2,376 million. The revenue from major sources such as customs, federal excise and sales tax declined by Rs 2,717 million. Also lower was income from property and enterprise, profit from Post Office, telegraph and telephone, trading profit, interest receipts, dividends, etc. Almost all items of revenue showed a decline except taxes on income and wealth and surcharges and stamps. The trouble appears to be deep and widespread.

### Revenue decline

Despite these major unanticipated declines in revenues, the

Budget document shows only a marginal worsening of the position of internal resources during the year 1982-83. The book-keeping feat is achieved by showing an improvement in what is called "Capital receipts (Net)". This is done mainly through increasing the amount of debts and deposits and deducting capital payments from it. The debts are shown to have risen during the financial year 1982-83. Over and above the estimates of June 1982, were unfunded debt, domestic debt (permanent) and deposits not bearing interest.

Now unfunded debt consists of items such as Post Office Savings, Bank deposits, certificates of Post Office Cash, Khas deposits, Reserve Funds, Postal Life Insurance funds and the like.

The deposits not bearing interests consists of such interesting items as fund for artists, journalists, men of letters and their families, welfare funds, funds for Urdu and Moenjodaro, etc. But its main item is appropriation for reduction or avoidance of debt, whatever that might be.

One is not sure whether what goes into these funds and does not come out contribute to increase in the net of the capital receipts, or perhaps government makes use of what people deposit with it as a trust, such as post office saving bank accounts or what happens to be placed in its custody from other sources.

At a time of active energy and transportation crises one can only regret that development finances

had to be slashed rather drastically last year.

At the time of the announcement of last year's Budget it was estimated that a sum of Rs 3,802 million would be available from revenue account to finance the proposed development programme. The figures for the end of the year show that instead of a surplus of Rs 3,802 million the revenue account ran into a digit of Rs 1,012 million. The estimated provincial contribution of Rs 68 million towards development programme also failed to materialise. The estimated contribution of the autonomous bodies also fell short by Rs 452 million. As if these internal shocks were not sufficient, the level of external assistance went down by Rs 764 million.

### Development outlay

The net result of all these miscalculations or unforeseen adverse developments was that the development outlay had to be trimmed by Rs 3,210 million. Further, despite the trimming, the budgetary gap — that is, the difference between total resources and total expenditure — went up from the estimated Rs 5,656 million to Rs 6,191 million — a rise of Rs 535 million. The gap is that shortfall which is left unfilled.

Poor performance of government finances during the year 1982-83 has cast a long shadow over the budget 1983-84. The accompanying table I shows the budgeted development outlays for three years.

Table - I		
Budget	Development outlay in Rs./million at current prices.	Development outlay on per capita basis in terms of 1959-60 prices.
1981-82	28859	72
1982-83	31465	70
1983-84	31000	61

Working with the figures of revised estimates one finds from Table 2 a drop in the development outlay.

Table - 2		
Working with the figures of revised estimates one finds from Table 2 a drop in the development outlay.		
Revised estimates	Development outlay in Rs./million at current prices.	Development outlay on per capita basis 1959-60 prices.

1981-82	27000	67
1982-83	28255	68

The provision in the Budget of 1983-84 of Rs 61 per Pakistani at 1959-60 price level is even less than the figure of Rs 63 of the revised estimates of 1982-83. If the previous trend of high budget provisions and low revised estimates persists then the next year's position would be worse.

In the face of these realities it is remarkable to read the proclamation of the Federal Finance Secretary that development expenditure during 1983-84 is 9.7 per cent higher than that of 1982-83. Last year he had declared that "the size of ADP has been increased by .... 16.5 per cent.

So the level of development expenditure has been slipping which is a matter of great concern for every Pakistani. The obvious reason for this trend is that foreign contribution towards development costs is getting less and less and the government is unable to raise funds from the people. It is not that money is not there in the country but the Government is too weak.

There could be no better manifestation of the empty coffers of the government than this gem from the "the basic strategy for the ADP 1983-84, in brief": "Restrict the role of public sector in industrialisation, and to associate private sector in building physical and social infrastructure, to restrict subsidy on fertiliser".

On page 7 of the same document seven goals and objectives of the Budget are given. These relate to growth, energy and transport, health and education, agriculture, defence, inflation and less developed areas. There is no mention whatsoever about developing industry in Pakistan.

The stark realities of the economic situation are: (i) the basic strategy of development is "restrictions"; (ii) the Government is terribly short of funds; (iii) it is keen to shift its responsibilities to the private sector; (iv) the provisions made in the federal Budget 83-84 are cosmetic in nature and by June 1984 the economic situation is likely to deteriorate further.

## COMMENTARY ON PLANNING IN PAKISTAN

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 16 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Zahurul Haq]

[Text]

AYAZ AMIR ('Doing what he did to Ayub Khan?' Viewpoint, June 9) says that the "Sixth Plan bids fair to worsen matters to such an extent that it is not fanciful to expect them to break down completely. Dr. Mahbubul Haq performed one service to the nation by contributing decisively to the economic policies which shook the Ayub regime. It looks as if he is about to perform another". My knowledge of economics is infinitely infinitesimal. So I wouldn't know what Dr. Haq is up to. But on one thing I have always wondered. During the last few years we have seen the Finance Minister resorting to periodic budgetary adjustments. We all know that Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan is anything but dishonest or incompetent. Nor yet is he a shirker. He works as hard as the next man. Why, then, does he have to announce what are called mini-budgets from time to time? Simply because in an economy as wayward as ours, and in an international situation as chaotic as it is today, no finance minister can possibly provide for every contingency. Even the best computers can't do it, for which see the utter bedlam in the British, American and other 'Free World' economies. Even the centrally planned economies in the socialist bloc — though they don't admit it — are finding it extremely difficult to meet five-year targets. Again, it is not because the Russians or the East Germans and the others are incompetent or dishonest but because we are at the threshold of a new technological revolution in which one small new discovery or invention can render a whole industrial complex, set up after years of hard work and with hundreds of millions of dollars, obsolete overnight. I am no expert, as I have said, but I am of the view that in this day and age, planning for a five-year period is beyond the extrapolative genius even of the

Russians. One can, therefore, only have pity for the good Dr. Mahbubul Haq who heads the Planning Commission of a country where everything depends on chance or on the caprice of those in power, where nothing works except Section 144 of the Cr. P.C. The basic issue here is not what sort of plan Dr. Haq has come up with but whether we should have a five-year plan at all. We can either have a centrally-planned economy or a laissez faire economy but this mixed bag that we have now will never work. It has not worked in India, it hasn't worked elsewhere in the Third World and it is beginning to fail in the Soviet Union. Planning in an economy like ours is a contradiction in terms. It is like giving Dr. Haq (or any other expert for that matter) 85 million imponderables and then to expect him to come up with the right sets of permutations and combinations. Try doing that yourself! If I were in authority, I would abolish the Planning Commission, reduce State interference in the economy to the minimum and let it, like water, find its own level. Rid the country of its superior clerks and it will go places. I would put even water and power in the private sector and, by God, we will have more water and more power than WAPDA will ever be capable of providing. Ayaz Amir says that "the guidelines prescribed by the IMF" "have little to do with Islam". What crass nonsense! Did the revered Caliphs (may God be eternally pleased with them) have a planning commission? They did not and that most emphatically is why they ran the early Islamic State so well.—(UNDOC-TORED)

CSO: 4600/738

# SEPARATE BANK CELLS FOR IDA LOAN APPLICATIONS

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 p 5

[Text]

LAHORE, June 25: The Government has decided to set up separate cells in the nationalised banks to entertain applications and feasibility reports for the establishment of industries against the funds provided by the International Development Association (IDA) official sources told "Dawn" that the proposed cells would monitor all the information required by the clients and assist them in all respects in this connection a procedure was being finalised which would be communicated to all the branches handling the funds.

This step had been taken by the IDA authorities following reports by a high-level committee that the amount of fund was not being utilised properly. As against 500 to 600 applications received during the current financial year, only 10 to

15 were entertained by the provincial departments concerned.

The matter was referred to the World Bank, which, suggested for better arrangements for the utilisation of funds.

Under the new procedure, experienced officers would be deputed to manage the affairs of the IDA-funded projects — as far as the clearance of feasibility reports and other financial matters were concerned the clients would not have to go to any other agency for this particular purpose and within couple of weeks, the funds would be released in the name of the party concerned, provided it had completed all the necessary requirements, as suggested by the IDA.

In this regard, a major portion of the fund would be allocated for the projects falling in the small industrial sector.

CSO: 4600/733



## ECONOMIC SURVEY: JUGGLING STATISTICS CHARGED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 16 Jun 83 p 8

[Text]

STATISTICS have always had a special magic for us in Pakistan; we relish playing with figures. We did so when the Bengalis crossed over into India and again when the Afghans started coming over to our side of the border, and the exact number of political prisoners in the country is a permanent quizz. But statistics are not good for argument alone, they can provide pleasure as well — like the figure for the average family income worked out by the authors of the Economic Survey.

It is not difficult to appreciate the morale-boosting effect of the disclosure that the average income of a Pakistani family is Rs. 2,332, which is higher by a good margin than the salary of a Grade 18 officer. This is much more gratifying a statement than the disclosure that the Pakistani citizens are more fortunate than 46.6 per cent of the world's population on the basis of per capita income (and per capita means, the Survey informs, every man, woman and child). No wonder one hears tidings like 'Pakistan is out of the rank of poor countries.' One wonders whether the country's status cannot be improved further by discarding the terms like the Third World, the less-developed countries, etc., and dividing the world between the rich and the poor. It will at least put Pakistan in the rich segment of the poor half.

## Simple arithmetic

All this happy change in the average citizen's prospects has been brought

about by working out the family income — another first scored by the wizards of the Finance Ministry. The calculation is so simple that one is surprised why it was not thought of earlier. Take the per capita income, multiply it by 7, and divide the result by 12, and see the magic of an impressive figure for monthly family income. Why multiply by 7? Again simple. The housing census of 1977 showed that each housing unit was occupied by 6.7 persons. That gives us the average number of heads per family!

The possibilities opened up by this calculation are by no means exhausted. The people can easily acquire a feeling of even greater prosperity by raising the number of persons per housing unit — which they are doing anyway.

Unfortunately, this nation is still not without cynics and spoilsports. They may argue that the well-being of a people is measured in terms of quality of life they can lead and not by the printed value of currency notes. Or they may compare the life of an 'average family' with conditions in the households of unskilled workers, agricultural labour, school teachers, or even clerks below Grade 18. They may even go to the extent of challenging the adoption of housing census as a basis for determining the average family size, by pointing out that a large number of one-room hovels described as housing units serve as dwellings for more than a family each. The more stubborn among them

will, perhaps, want to see what the other figures in the Economic Survey reveal or, more importantly, conceal.

However, the mere mention of a four-figure sum is too intoxicating to leave the cynics any chance to

erode the pleasant feeling. The trials and heartbreaks of the second half of the month can wait; for the moment let us rejoice in the thought that we are better off than we really are.

CSO: 4600/738

COUNTRY'S JOBLESS SAID TO NUMBER 900,000

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 6

[Text]

LAHORE, June 28: Nine lakh and eighty thousand persons are jobless in the country at present, forming 3.54 per cent of the total labour force of 27.64 million, according to official statistics.

The number of jobless people would rise to one million in the next five years when the labour force rises to 31.35 million. In terms of percentage the jobless will equal 3.18 per cent by June, 1988.

According to these statistics, 24.30 million or 87.91 per cent of the present labour force are male and 12.09 per cent female workers.

Of the 24.30 million male workers, 17.67 million or 72.71 per cent are residents of villages, while 6.63 million (27.29 per cent) live in urban areas.

In the next five years, male work force will constitute 88.07 per cent, while the female 11.93 per cent of the total estimated 31.35 million

labour force. This means the share of the male work force will rise by 0.16 per cent, as compared with the present, while the share of the female work force will decline by the same ratio that is 0.16 per cent.

Official statistics say strength of the male work force will stand at 27.61 million and female at 3.74 million by the end of the 6th plan period.

Of the total male work force, 19.42 million or 70.33 per cent will be rural, while the remaining 29.67 per cent urban.

The share of rural female work force will come down to 85.02 per cent in the next five years, as compared to 86.5 per cent at present.

However, the segment of urban female work force will rise to 0.56 million or 14.97 per cent against the 13.47 per cent for the time being.—PPI.

CSO: 4600/737

SHIPPING COMPANIES TO OPEN OFFICES IN LAHORE

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Excerpt]

LAHORE, June 28: According to official sources, a decision is likely to be taken within next two months by the Government asking the shipping companies to open their offices at Lahore.

Meanwhile, work on the draft agreement to be signed by the Pakistan Railways and the shipping companies was being finalised and for this purposes a specimen had been asked for by the Pakistan authorities from the officials of the dry port in India.

With the opening of the offices of the shipping lines at Lahore the bill of the lading would be submitted by the exporters right from here which would curtail a number of lengthy procedural requirements

which they had to get completed from Karachi.

The leading shipping companies have so far refused to open their offices at Lahore on the request of the Pakistan Railways and the matter has been referred to the President of Pakistan for immediate solution, with recommendation to issue an ordinance in this regard.

Official sources informed 'Dawn', here Tuesday that a detailed working paper had been prepared by the experts for submission to the President. This paper would be forwarded through the Ministry of Railway, with comments and recommendations by the Federal Minister for Railways

CSO: 4600/737

# GAS SUPPLY TO CEMENT PLANTS SUSPENDED

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 p 10

[Text]

Almost all cement industries in the country have switched over to furnace oil as gas will no more be available to them after June 30.

The industries had already been served with the notice of gas suspension from July 1.

Two kilns of Zeal Pak Cement of 1,000 tons capacity each have already been switched over to furnace oil while the remaining four of 400 tons capacity each will be converted into oil by the end of this month sources said.

Similarly, Javedan has also converted its two kilns of 1,000 and 500 tons capacity respectively while the third of 500 tons capacity is also being converted.

These factories have imported equipment from Austria worth

over Rs. 25 million. The Zeal-Pak, however, had to air-lift some equipment to meet the conversion target date.

The National Cement factory will continue to get gas supply to run its two kilns of 750 tons capacity daily.

The factory may get the required 7.5 mcf gas after other industries in Sind and Karachi completely switch over to oil.

For the conversion, major components like kiln, burner, safety system of gas, high brand low-pressure pumps, equipment for controlling high and low pressure temperature etc. were imported while oil storage tanks, nuts, bolts, pipes etc. were procured locally. A total of 39 mcf gas will be saved through this process of conversion.

CSO: 4600/735

# PIA REPORTED TO EARN RECORD PROFITS

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 p 10

[Excerpt]

The PIA will net a record post-tax profit of Rs 433 million in 1982-83 but proposes to approach the Government for a further upward revision of the domestic fares where it is losing about Rs 90 million annually.

This was stated by the PIA Chairman, Maj-Gen (retd) M. Rahim Khan, while explaining the salient feature of the airlines budget and a review of overall performance and projections.

He said that as against the target of Rs 320 million, revised profit estimates for 1982-83 were Rs 433 million — up 500 per cent in less than two years — and highest ever in 28 years.

On current year's profitability and seat factor performance, the national airlines was among the top 7 or 8 airlines of the world, he said.

The upsurge, he said, was possible through an overall improvement over and above the budget estimates viz nine per cent increase in passenger traffic, eight per cent increase in excess baggage revenue, and six per cent increase in cargo revenue, besides better fund management, increased earnings from engineering services and training centre etc.

For the next year, he said, the profit target had been set at Rs 617 million.

The PIAC Chairman, however, drew attention to certain constraints which might "impede our growth."

He said the capital expenditure next year will be Rs 403 million as compared to Rs 315 million in 1982-83.

CSO: 4600/733

## BRIEFS

RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY DEMANDED--Karachi, June 14: The defunct Pakistan National Party and Pakistan Socialist Party have jointly issued a call to all the progressive and democratic forces in the country to join hands in the struggle for the restoration of peoples rights in the country. In a 12-point joint declaration signed by Ghaous Bakhsh Bizenjo on behalf of PNP and C. R. Aslam on behalf of PSP both the parties have said that in order to make the country prosperous, self-reliant and genuinely independent steps must be taken to end the alliances with imperialist powers and dependence on loans be done away with, trade with the Third World countries should be increased, big zamin daris should be abolished and the land thus acquired should be distributed among the landless peasants. The declaration also calls for the curtailment of non-productive expenditures, security of service to the workers and freedom for trade union activities, freedom of speech and expression, withdrawal of all curbs on politics in the country, and establishment of a democratic atmosphere in the educational institution. The declaration further said that equality of rights of women should be accepted and discrimination on the basis of sex, religion, race, and colour, should be eliminated. The two parties also called for establishment of a constitutional government through elections and an independent foreign policy based on support to anti-imperialist forces and good relationship with the neighbours, launch a fulfilled movement for the restoration of a democracy. [as published] [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Jun 83 p 8]

LEGHARI BANNED FROM SIND--Lahore, June 19: Entry of Farooq Leghari, Acting Secretary-General of defunct Pakistan People's Party, into Sind Province has been banned for a period of two months. The orders issued by the Sind Home Department were served on Mr. Leghari at his residence yesterday. They are effective from June 2. Orders coming from the Home Department of NWFP Government were also served on the Acting Secretary-General of PPP. The extended a ban on his entry into the province for a further period of three months. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Jun 83 p 8]

BUDGET PROCEDURE QUESTIONED--Islamabad June 11: The presentation of Federal Budget for 1983-84 before the Majlis-i-Shoora today invoked interesting remark from a lady member of the House. Rising on a Point of Order, Begum Mehmooda Sultan asked the Chairman if the Budget was being presented before the Shoora or the members were being presented before the Budget. There was a laughter but the Chairman asked the lady member to resume her seat remarking that the

presentation of Budget was always an important thing.--PPI. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 3]

DECENTRALIZATION OF POPULATION DEPARTMENT--Rawalpindi June 11: The Population welfare programme a Federal Government department is being defederalised. An ordinance will be shortly signed by the President and issued shortly after approval at the next Cabinet meeting according to a top Government source. After defederalisation, responsibility for the execution of the welfare programme will be shifted to provincial Governments to make it really effective. However, policy and co-ordination of the programme will stay with the Federal Government. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 12 Jun 83 p 10]

FIGURES ON RAILWAYS LOSSES--The Pakistan Railways will spend Rs. 1442.2 million on its Annual Development Programme during the next fiscal year. Giving this information the General Manager, Railways Mr. A. U. Zafar, said out of the external component, Rs. 184.7 million were meant for "capital addition" while Rs. 326.9 million for the rehabilitation and replacement of assets. The General Manager said during the next financial year the Railways would rehabilitate 266 kilometres of track on the main and branch line. Main project for providing installation of the microwave network would be completed during the next year while improvement of signalling on 26 stations was in hand. The General Manager said during the current year the losses were estimated at Rs. 1042.1 million, which would rise to Rs. 1359 million during the next final financial year. He said during the next financial year, the revenue receipts were estimated at Rs. 3620 million while expenditures were estimated at Rs. 4979.6 million, leaving an estimated loss of Rs. 1359.6 million. The General Manager said the second class fare has been raised by less than one paise per kilometre. He said the distance between Karachi and Lahore was 1219 kilometres and the fare had been raised only by eleven rupees, from Rs. 74 to Rs. 85.--PPI. [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 14 Jun 83 p 12]

DUTIES IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE--Lahore, June 23: The Government is considering a proposal to realise in foreign exchange the import duties on various specialised items, including cars. According to official sources, a scheme is likely to be introduced under which a list of certain categories of imported items would be specified for the purpose. The proposed scheme is aimed at facilitating the Pakistanis working abroad and also industrial consumers who would prefer to avail themselves of this opportunity. In this connection, the existing procedure of submitting foreign exchange returns would also be simplified after with it would be easier to get clearance from the State Bank. [as published] Anyhow, the proposed scheme is yet to be finalised by the authorities concerned. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 83 p 6]

DEVELOPMENT OF GAS WELLS--Pakistan Petroleum plans to drill and complete four development wells at Sui during the current year to meet the growing gas demands, PPL chairman D. M. Keith said in the company's annual report for 1982 which was released in Karachi on Wednesday. After drilling and completing Sui Well 31, more development wells (Nos. 32, 33 and 34) were



completed. During 1983 Well No. 35 was spudded--on Jan 25 with the company's rig. PPI [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 83 p 14]

TRADE UNIONISTS MEET LEADERS--Representatives of four trade union federations met the leaders of the defunct Pakistan National Party and discussed the restrictions on the trade union movement in the country. The meeting also considered the possibility of the Federation's participation in a PNP protest day programme for July 5 next. The defunct PNP team was led by Mr. Yusuf Musti Khan, president of the local branch of the party. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Joint Labour Federation, Pakistan Labour Organisation, United Workers' Federation and the Pakistan Trade Union Federation. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 24 Jun 83 p 18]

FOREST DEVELOPMENT IN PUNJAB--Multan, June 28: The Government of Punjab has decided to spend Rs 800 million on the development of forestry in the province during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, it is learnt. Research on forestry will be carried out by modern forestry Research Station in the area of Multan or Faisalabad. An additional area of 30,000 acres will be brought under forests in different parts of the province. An area of 10,000 acres will be brought under forests along the roads, 2,500 acres for shelter beds and 15,000 acres along the river banks. The Government has prepared a special scheme for the promotion of forestry for production of good quality timber for construction purposes and fuel wood. Efforts are being made to increase irrigated plantation in Chichawatni area near Multan as a result of better technology and improved methods. According to a provincial Forest Department source, 135 million trees are expected to be planted in the province during the next tree plantation campaign in August. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 5]

REFUGEE OFFICIALS ARRESTED--Quetta, June 28: Anti-corruption police has arrested seven officials of the Refugees Organisation on the charge of misappropriation in the Government funds. [as published] The accused were stated to be involved in the embezzlement in the funds given to them for distribution among the Afghan refugees. Police have registered a case against them and further investigations are in progress.--PPI [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 5]

PIA SELF-SUFFICIENT IN ENGINEERING--PIA achieved its target of complete self-sufficiency in the engineering services when a DC-10 rolled out of the airline's wide-body hangar after undergoing the Check "D" for the first time in Pakistan, says a Press release. Previously, PIA had been sending DC-10 to Alitalia at Rome for these checks involving complete overhaul at a cost of US dollars two million. The Managing Director, Air Vice Marshall Wiqar Azim, in a message to the engineering employees conveyed his appreciation. The PIAC Board of Directors has decided to retain the airline's printing press as a separate profit-earning centre and also approved its development plans, says a Press release. The airline, which was contemplating disinvesting the PIA printing press, will now operate it with modern equipment while its income and expenditure account will be maintained separately to closely monitor its financial performance. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 10]

ON LAWYERS' STRIKE--The lawyers' efforts to draw the attention of the people and the world at large to the state of affairs in Pakistan were unable to create a dent but neither could they be described as an exercise in futility. Their six-day protest of one-day hunger strikes did create some ripples in the otherwise placid political atmosphere. But Islamabad could never become the eye of the storm. Lahore and Karachi, even Hyderabad and Faisalabad and Peshawar will take a march over the capital. A comic part of the six-day protest was the 'fatwa' of the mullahs that the hunger strikes were 'un-Islamic'--an age-old tried formula which the British used so frequently. [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 16 Jun 83 p 16]

CONCERN OVER STONING INCIDENT--The Women's Action Forum (Karachi) has noted "with horror" the reported stoning to death in an Afghan refugee camp of two men and a woman on a charge of adultery, without a judicial trial. It felt that the tragedy was the consequence of the unhealthy atmosphere which has been fostered in the realm of the relationships between men and women. "This atmosphere encourages the self-righteous, the hypocritical and those with ulterior motives of revenge to institute false charges of Zina and--as in this case--even to execute the sentence themselves, the Forum felt. [as published] [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 83 p 8]

POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTES FOR GIRLS--Lahore, June 26: The Directorate of Technical Education, in collaboration with the Women's Division, is setting up two polytechnic institutes for girls in Punjab, at Faisalabad and Multan, to impart them training in various trades, including electronics. At Faisalabad, the institute has been set up in a rented building in the People's Colony, where the girls will be imparted training in tailoring, knitting, cutting, embroidery and education. In this connection, the Women's Division had provided a sum of Rs 16 lakh for the purchase of equipment and furniture. For setting up the polytechnic at Multan the women's division has released Rs 32 lakh for the purchase of furniture and equipment. For the time being it will be housed in a rented building. Admissions to these institutes are likely to start in September.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 p 5]

ISLAMABAD CULTURAL COMPLEX PLANNED--A high-level committee, headed by the Minister for Planning and Development, Dr Mahbubul Haq has been appointed by the President to draw up the conceptual plan of the Cultural Complex to be established at Islamabad at a cost of Rs 700 million, it was officially stated. The committee will also indicate the broad dimensions, salient features and major components of the complex which will be developed as an integrated monument reflecting both the contribution of Islam to the development of literature, art, architecture, science, technology and the human thought, and the historical and cultural heritage of Pakistan. An international design competition shall be held to give physical shape to the conceptual plan. The complex shall have museum of Islamic Heritage, National Museum of Pakistan, Hall of Heroes, National Arts, Gallery and National Library of Pakistan, as its integral components. The Library will have all modern and sophisticated equipment required for providing the most efficient service comparable to that being provided anywhere in the world. APP. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 p 8]

IRANIANS FINED FOR FORGED PASSPORTS--Seven Iranians including three women have been awarded punishment till the rising of the court and a fine of Rs. 4,000 each by the Additional City Magistrate, FIA (East) Mr Mohammed Yousuf. Those convicted include Yousuf Khan, Islam, Nazar Hussain, Sabir Hussain and Mst Almas Begum, Fauzia and Sakina Begum. Passport Cell had arrested them on June 23 from Karachi airport when they were trying to go to Bangkok through forged passports. FIA had registered a case against them under Passport Act. All the accused paid the fine and were released. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 p 12]

MEHRAN UNIVERSITY URGES INQUIRY--Larkana, June 26: The President of District MRD Mr Ahmed Nawaz Awan, and student leader Ahmad Ali Soomro have called for a judicial inquiry into the incidents which led to the conviction of seven students of Mehran Engineering and Technology University. In a joint statement, they also demanded release of all political prisoners and holding of general elections under the 1973 Constitution. Meanwhile, according to a report from our staff correspondent in Hyderabad, the seven arrested students were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment and lashes by the Summary Military Court No. 18. They are Ghulam Ali and Hasan Ali, (one year R.I. and 10 lashes each) Lutuf Ali and Balchand, engineer Lal Mohammad and Mohammad Ibrahim (one year R.I. and seven lashes each) and Sunder Das (one year R.I. and five lashes). The accused had fired on the police injuring DSP Akber Ali Baloch and other policemen, besides damaging the office of Vice-Chancellor and cutting telephone wires. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 83 p 12]

KARACHI BAN ON ASSEMBLIES--The District Magistrate Karachi West has under Section 144 Cr. P. C. prohibited assembly or meeting of five or more persons in public place for any purpose and raising slogans and carrying placards (except religious congregations in mosques and Imambargahs, which have already been permitted by the District Magistrate in written) in the whole district. [as published] According to an official handout, the order to this effect have been issued in view of apprehension of lawlessness and breach of peace as a result of tension and hostility between two groups of people and to prevent disturbances and danger to human lives and property. [as published] According to this order, the other actions, which have been prohibited include joining, forming or taking part in any procession or demonstration, except weddings and funeral processions. Meanwhile, carrying of weapons of any kind in public place such as firearms, knives, swords, stones and all other weapons falling within the meaning of arms used as weapons of offence are likely to cause hurt or which are likely to be used for purpose of committing disturbance to public place or creating riot or affray is also prohibited. This order will come into force immediately from tomorrow (June 29) for a period of one month. It will not apply to civilians on duty, police and military persons. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 29 Jun 83 p 10]

BAN URGED ON JAMAAT--A leader of the Afghan Mujahideen, Kabir Khan Afridi, has alleged that the Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan is openly intervening "in the affairs of the Mujahideen to create misunderstanding between Islamabad and Kabul". Mr. Kabir Khan was talking to local newsmen at the Sahiwal Railway Station while on his way to Karachi. He further said that the Jamaat-i-Islami had been working for the failure of the Geneva talks on Afghanistan. He urged the Pakistan Government to ban the entry of Jamaat-i-Islami workers in the Afghan refugee camps. [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 9 Jun 83 p 17]

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